R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 003 937 48

SOME FEATURES OF GANDA LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE, PART 1.

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REPORT NUMBER NDEA-VI-205-1 PUB DATE 65

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.09 HC-$2.20 55P. AFRICAN STUDIES QUARTERLY J., 24 (1)/3-54, 1965

DESCRIPTORS- *LINGUISTIC PATTERNS, *STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS, *PHONETIC ANALYSIS, *LANGUAGE RESEARCH, *GANDA, ORTHOGRAPHIC SYMBOLS, *MORPHOLOGY (LANGUAGES), DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

CERTAIN LINGUISTIC STRUCTURES OF GANDA, CLASSIFIED AS A BANTU LANGUAGE OF UGANDA, WERE STUDIED AND REPORTED. STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF THE LANGUAGE WERE PRESENTED AT THE WORD AND PHRASE LEVEL, AND THE PRELIMINARIES TO A FORMAL STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS WERE REPRESENTED, INCLUDING TONOMORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES. THIS FIRST PART OF A THREE-PART STUDY DEALT WITH THAT PORTION OF PHONOLOGY INVOLVING VOWELS, CONSONANTS, TONES AND TONE-MARKING, SYLLABLE STRUCTURES AND TONAL CAPACITIES, AND MORPHOPHONEMIC PROCESSES. GANDA NOUN CLASSES WERE DESCRIBED INDIVIDUALLY. OTHER PARTS OF THIS STUDY ARE ED 003 938 AND ED 003 939. (RS)

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AFRICAN STUDIES

Quarterly Journal

Published by

WITWATERSRAND UNIVERSITY PRESS

JOHANNESBURG

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AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 24, No 1, 1965

TITLE

SOME FEATURES OF GANDA LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE, PART 1

DESMOND T. COLE

Part One

PREFACE

1. This study of certain aspects of Ganda linguistic structures was carried out as one of three projects initiated by Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., and financed by the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.* The research was commenced during the year July 1961—June 1962, with the assistance of Mr Michael B. Nsimbi who spent the year with me at Georgetown University, but owing to preoccupation with other tasks very little was achieved during this period. The great bulk of my research was done in January and February 1963, when I spent five weeks in Kampala, Uganda, and was assisted by Mr Nsimbi and Mr Livingstone Walusimbi.

2. Ganda is a Bantu language of Uganda, and spoken as a first or second language by some three million people.[1] For other information on distribution and ethnography, reference may be made to:

M. A. Bryan: *The Bantu Languages of Africa*, Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London, 1959.

M. C. Fallers: *The Eastern Lacustrine Bantu*, Ethnographic Survey of Africa, International African Institute, London, 1960.

In the course of my work on Ganda I have also referred freely to the following:

E. O. Ashton, E. M. K. Mulira, E. G. M. Ndawula and A. N. Tucker: *A Luganda Grammar*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1954. The standard work on the language, probably comprehending all that has been recorded in earlier grammatical works, and including some very useful tonal data.

B. E. R. Kirwan and P. A. Gore: *Elementary Luganda*, Uganda Bookshop, Kampala, 1951.

J. D. Chesswas: *The Essentials of Luganda*, 1st edition 1954; 3rd (revised) edition, Oxford University Press, London and Nairobi, 1963. Extremely useful and delightfully accurate.

Kitching and Blackledge: *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, revised by E. M. K. Mulira and E. G. M. Ndawula, 1952. All entries tone-marked.

M. B. Nsimbi and J. D. Chesswas: *An Explanation of the Standard Orthography of Luganda*, East African Literature Bureau, Kampala, 1958 and 1960.

A. N. Tucker: "The Syllable in Luganda: A Prosodic Approach", *Journal of African Languages*, 1, 2, 122–66, 1962, Macmillan and Co., Ltd, London. Includes some very useful tonal data.

* This work was developed pursuant to a contract between the United States Office of Education and Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., and is published with permission of the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
Initially it will be published in three or four instalments in *African Studies*, whereafter a number of copies will be bound together in monograph form.

[1] Personal communication from Mr J. D. Chesswas, December 15, 1960.

3. The present study is quite different in scope and orientation from any of the above. Firstly, it presents only certain aspects of the structure of Ganda, mainly at the word and phrase level; secondly, it represents, as such, the preliminaries to a formal structural analysis of the language, including tonomorphological features which have not been described hitherto. The preliminary and tentative nature of this study cannot be overemphasized: It is based on only a few weeks of research with native speakers; the structure of Ganda manifests a number of features and problems quite different from those which I had previously encountered in Bantu linguistic studies, and some of these remain unsolved; and several important aspects of the morphology and syntax, e.g. Pseudoverbs (Copulatives), Relative Clause Constructions, Verbal Extensions, certain Verb Tenses, the function and distribution of the Initial Vowel, etc., are barely touched upon or not described at all.

4. Ganda represents a very significant structural type within the Bantu area. It manifests some unusual and extremely interesting features in its syllabic and tonomorphological structures, to mention only two, and it is highly desirable that this study be continued and brought to a conclusion, with solutions to the outstanding problems. Among the most tantalizing of these are the behaviour of the Initial Vowel, and the phonemic status of word-final vowels (single or double) and their behaviour in certain morphosyntactic situations, being subject to doubling in some cases but not in others, while it remains yet to be determined whether the tonomorphological system which emerges for nouns and adjectives is applicable also to other form classes, including perhaps the conjugation of the verb.

5. As far as possible I have employed the Standard Orthography of Ganda in this work, but have taken some liberties with spelling and word-division. For example, both of the allophones [**l**] and [**r**] are herein represented by [**l**], whereas they are distinguished in the orthography (see **1.2.2 (4)**); and possessive prefixes are joined to their bases and double vowels in possessive prefixal inflections are represented as such, whereas separation, single vowel symbols and apostrophes are prescribed (see **5.5.5** ff). In principle the Standard Orthography is a very effective and practical instrument, but with a few minor modifications and extensions to the application of its conventions it would be more effective and efficient, more consistent, and easier to teach and learn. For purposes of this study it has been necessary to adopt a system of tone-marking not provided for in the Standard Orthography, and differing in some respects from that used by Professor A. N. Tucker.

6. My terminology is that of C. M. Doke's *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1935, modified in accordance with more recently adopted usages in structural and descriptive linguistics. However, I use "pseudoverb" in preference to "copulative", "substrate" and "superstrate"[2] in preference to "segmental" and "suprasegmental", and "adoptive" in preference to "borrowed" or "imported" when referring to lexical items of foreign origin.

7. *Acknowledgements:* I wish to record my gratitude to Professor Léon E. Dostert and the Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., for initiating and administering this project, and to the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, for the supporting grant. Among others in Washington, D.C., who have also given much assistance and encouragement in many ways are the late Father Joseph F. Cohalan, S.J., Father Joseph A. Haller, S.J., Miss Marie M. Price, Mrs Julia A. Petrov and Miss Mary H. Chamberlain.

[2] "Suprastrate" may be more correct etymologically, but "superstrate" is more euphonic and, with "substrate", matches the "superstratum" and "substratum" of biology, geology, etc.

The late Dr Derrick J. Stenning, then Director, and Mr S. B. K. Musoke, Administrative Secretary, of the East African Institute for Social Research, Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda, made available accommodation and many other facilities during my sojourn there, while Mr John D. Chesswas of the Ministry of Education, Kampala, assisted in establishing valuable contracts there and with his own very extensive knowledge of the language, people and country. In Johannesburg Mr Derek Fivaz prepared for me, from published sources, a preliminary structural sketch of Ganda grammar which I used as the basis for my fieldwork; and the magnificently accurate prepublication typescript, with all its complexity of tonemarks and special symbols, was produced by Mrs Margaret A. Wilson.

Above all I am indebted to Messrs Michael B. Nsimbi and Livingstone Walusimbi for submitting so patiently to many hours of interrogation, and for giving me so generously and enthusiastically of their time and of their knowledge of their language. For my errors of commission and omission they are in no way responsible; but insofar as this work constitutes a contribution to Ganda linguistic studies the credit is very substantially theirs.[3]

D.T.C.

Johannesburg.
January 9, 1964.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	Tone Class A
Adj.	Adjective
B	Tone Class B
BP	Basic Prefix (without Initial Vowel)
C	Consonant
C̩	Syllabic Consonant
CC	Geminate Consonant Cluster, see 1.2.4.
cf.	Compare
Cl.	Noun Class
ct.	Contrast
F	High-Low Tonal Sequence (Short Syllable)
F̄	High-Low Tonal Sequence (Long Syllable)
H	High Tone
H̄	High-High Tonal Sequence (Long Syllable)
int.	Intransitive Verb
IV	Initial Vowel of Noun Prefix, etc.
L	Low Tone
L̄	Low-Low Tonal Sequence (Long Syilable)
LIS	Long Initial Syllable
N	Nasal Consonant /**m**, **n**, **ny**, **ŋ**/
N-	Nasal Prefix and its Morphophonemic Influence, see 1.5.1.
NC	Nasal Compound Cluster, see 1.2.3.

[3] To Professor A. E. Meeussen, Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale, Tervuren, Belgium, and Mr R. A. Snoxall, formerly Director of Education in Uganda, I am indebted for reading the prepublication version of this work, and for submitting numerous useful comments and suggestions, many of which have been incorporated in the present version.

NN	Geminate Nasal Cluster /**mm, nn, nny, ŋŋ**/
neg.	Negative (Verb Tense)
OE	Object Enclitic (Verbal)
OP	Object Prefix (Verbal)
p.	Person (1st, 2nd, 3rd)
pl.	Plural
pos.	Positive (Verb Tense)
PP	Possessive Prefix, see 5.5.2.
R	Radical (Verbal)
sg.	Singular
SIS	Short Initial Syllable
sp.	Species (Biological)
SP	Subject Prefix (Verbal)
TC	Tone Class
trs.	Transitive Verb
V	Vowel
VV	Double (Geminate) Vowel Cluster
-YE	Suffix of Verb Perfect Stem
Ø	Zero
#	Prefix and Morphophonemic Process Producing Gemination of Consonants, see 1.5.2.
ˋ	Single Low Tone (L)
ˋˋ	Double Low Tone (L̲)
ˊ	Single High Tone (H)
ˊˊ	Double High Tone (H̲)
ˇ	High-Low Tonal Sequence (F or F̲)
~	Phonologically Determined Variant
∞	Morphologically Determined Variant
≃	Dialectal Variant, Alternative Form
↔	Correlated with, e.g. Cl. 1 ↔ 2, Singular and Correlative Plural
[ ]	Phonetic Transcription, Allophone(s)
/ /	Phonemic Transcription, Phoneme(s)
// //	Orthographic Representation
>	Produces, Becomes
<	Derived from

N.B.—Footnotes are numbered serially within each chapter. For typographical reasons, certain items which would normally be inserted as footnotes are included at the end of the relevant paragraph.

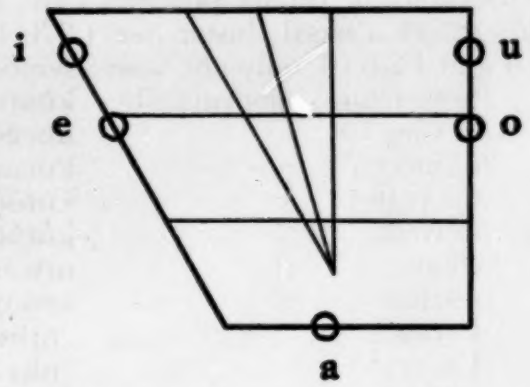
Chapter 1

PHONOLOGY

1.1.0. VOWELS.

1.1.1. Ganda has five vowel phonemes, /**i, e, a, o, u**/, all pronounced fairly tensely and without observably distinct allophones. There is a slight non-significant tendency to nasalize all vowels when preceding or following nasal consonants, and also a non-significant tendency to devocalize them in word-final position. In the word-final sequence represented orthographically by /**mu**/, the vowel is usually not articulated at all (see 1.4.3).

1.1.2. Vowel Chart:



1.1.3. All five vowels may occur as nuclear elements in both short and long syllables (see 1.4.1 f). In short syllables of the type under consideration here (CV, NCV), the vowel nucleus is short, consisting of a single phoneme (V). In the corresponding types of long syllables (VV, CVV. NCVV), the vowel nucleus is phonetically long, i.e. without double pulsation in its articulation. Phonemically, however, these long vowel nuclei consist of double vowels, i.e. geminate clusters of two identical vowels (VV). Whereas the terms "short" and "long" vowels are generally used in the existing publications on Ganda, we prefer to call them single and double vowels. Non-geminate vowel sequences, i.e. clusters of non-identical vowels, do not occur in Ganda.

1.1.4. In word-initial position (except when preceding geminate consonant clusters, see 1.4.6), vowels appear always to be phonetically longer than medial single vowels. We tentatively assume therefore that, except when preceding CC, all word-initial vowels are phonemically double (VV). This conclusion seems to be supported by certain other phonological and morphological features, see 1.1.8 and 1.4.2.

1.1.5. In word-final position, vowels appear often, but not consistently, to be phonetically longer than medial single vowels. There is some morphological evidence to suggest a distinction between single (short) and double (long) vowels in final position, but it is not yet certain whether this contrast is valid, and we tentatively assume final vowels to be phonemically single (V) except in certain cases when preceding personal pronominal possessives, see 3.2.3 (4)(*a*) and 5.5.6.

1.1.6. Examples of Single and Double Vowels:

kùlímá	(to cultivate)
kùlíímá	(to spy)
kùwélá	(to refuse)
kùwéélá	(to rest)
kùwábá	(to go astray)
kùwáábá	(to complain)
kùwólá	(to lend money)
kùwóólá	(to scoop or hollow out)
kùtúlà	(to become sharp)
kùtúùlá	(to sit down)

1.1.7. The Standard Orthography of Ganda provides that, as a general rule, when a double vowel occurs before a nasal cluster (see 1.2.3, 1.2.6, 1.2.9), or after a /w/ or /y/ compound (see 1.2.5 ff and 1.2.8 ff), only one vowel symbol should be written, thus:

kùsînzá	(to worship), phonemically:	**kùsíinzá**
kùcêncá	(to run)	**kùcéèñcá**
kùsãngá	(to meet)	**kùsááŋgá**
kùtõndá	(to create)	**kùtóóndá**
kùfũmbá	(to cook)	**kùfúúmbá**
mwâna	(child)	**mwáàná**
kyõyâ	(feather)	**kyòòyâ**
ˈmbwãmá	(I crouch)	**ˈmbwáámá**
ˈnkyãwá	(I hate)	**ˈŋkyááwá**
ˈmmwãnyí	(coffee berry)	**ˈmmwáányí**
ˈmmyũká	(I become red)	**ˈmmyúúká**
ẽmbúzì	(goat)	**èèmbúzì**
ẽntébè	(chair, stool)	**èèntébè**
ẽnjóvú	(elephant)	**èèñjóvú**
ẽnkúsú	(parrot)	**èèŋkúsú**
õmũntú	(person)	**òòmúúntú**
ẽlyâtó	(canoe, boat)	**èèlyáàtó**

N.B.—The last six examples are nouns with Initial Vowel (IV). See 2.1.1 f.

1.1.8. The vowels /**i**, **a**, **u**/ are conveniently referred to as Primary Vowels, and /**e**, **a**, **o**/ as Secondary Vowels. The vowel /**a**/ may thus be primary or secondary according to the structural series in which it occurs. An interesting feature of Ganda morphophonology is that all word-initial vowels, and, with very rare exceptions (see 2.1.6), stem-initial vowels, are secondary /**e**, **a**, **o**/. This is manifest in the initial vowels of noun prefixes, adjectival prefixes and possessive prefixes, and of demonstratives; in certain enumerative prefixes and subject prefixes, and the reflexive prefix; and in vowel-commencing noun stems, adjectival stems, and verbal radicals. A further significant feature is that word-initial and stem-initial vowels are always phonemically double, never single, unless preceding CC.

1.2.0. CONSONANTS.

1.2.1. Ganda has nineteen consonant phonemes represented by /**b, c, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, ny, ŋ, p, s, t, v, w, y, z**/. Most of these also occur in Nasal Clusters in which the first element is a homorganic nasal consonant, in Geminate Clusters, and in Semivowel Clusters in which the second element is /**w**/ or /**y**/. In the charts below, "///" represents an empty slot in the basic system, and "—" an empty slot in the cluster subsystems.

1.2.2. Chart of Consonant Phonemes:

p	**t**	**c**	**k**
b	**d**	**j**	**g**
w	**l**	**y**	///
m	**n**	**ny**	**ŋ**
f	**s**	///	///
v	**z**	///	///

(1) /**p, t, c, k**/ are voiceless stops, respectively bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. They are usually slightly aspirated. Before the vowel /**i**/, /**k**/ is palatalized and closely resembles /**c**/.

(2) /**b**/ is a voiced bilabial, usually fricative when initial or intervocalic, but explosive in the clusters /**mb, bb, bw, by**/, etc. /**d, j, g**/ are voiced stops, respectively alveolar, palatal and velar. Before the vowel /**i**/, /**g**/ is palatalized and closely resembles /**j**/.

(3) /**w**/ and /**y**/ are voiced semivowels, respectively labiovelar and palatal.

(4) /**l**/ has at least two allophones, a voiced lateral continuant [**l**], and a voiced one-tap [**ɾ**] or trilled [**r**]. In this study we represent all members of the phoneme by /**l**/, but in the Standard Ganda Orthography two symbols, //**l**// and //**r**//, are prescribed, //**l**// being written initially and after the vowels /**a, o, u**/, and //**r**// after /**i, e**/. In fact the distribution of the allophones is somewhat more complex than this orthographic convention would suggest. The allophone [**l**] occurs consistently in word-initial position, and the trilled [**r**], or occasionally a one-tap [**ɾ**], consistently after /**i, e**/. In other environments however, where supposedly we should find [**l**], there is a good deal of free variation, especially within the sequences /**a...a, a...u, a...o, o...o, o...u, u...a, u...o, u...u**/, in progressive order of which there is an increasing tendency to use the one-tap [**ɾ**] and the trilled [**r**] instead of [**l**]. Examples:

[**lùmőndé**]			(sweet potato)
[**mùkírà**]			(tail)
[**lèèrô**]			(today)
[**kwãgálá**	≃	**kwãgáɾá**]	(to love, like, want)
[**mùlàlû**	≃	**mùlàɾû**]	(mad person)
[**màláàló**	≃	**màláàɾó**]	(grave)
[**mùsólò**	≃	**mùsóɾò**]	(tax)
[**màwólù**	≃	**màwóɾù**]	(left-over food)
[**kũggúlá**	≃	**kũggúɾá**]	(to open)
[**ˋggúɾú**	≃	**ˋggúrú**]	(sky, heavens)

(5) /**m, n, ny, ŋ**/ are voiced nasals, respectively bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. /**m**/ has a labiodental allophone [**ɱ**], which occurs before /**f**/ and /**v**/, and which is represented in the Standard Orthography by //**n**//. Hence the sequences represented by //**nf**// and //**nv**// (see 1.2.3) are phonemically /**mf**/ and /**mv**/, and phonetically [**ɱf**] and [**ɱv**], respectively.

(6) **/f, v/** are labiodental fricatives, respectively voiceless and voiced. Before **/a, e/** they are commonly articulated with a slight **/w/** glide, e.g.

/kùfâ/	**[kùfwâ]**	(to die)
/ˈnvâ/	**[ˈŋvwâ]**	(relish)

(7) **/s, z/** are alveolar fricatives, respectively voiceless and voiced.

1.2.3. Chart of Nasal Clusters (NC):

mp	**nt**	**nc**	**nk**
mb	**nd**	**nj**	**ng**
—	—	—	///
—	—	—	—
nf	**ns**	///	///
nv	**nz**	///	///

In these clusters the nasal consonants are always homorganic. Thus in **/mp, mb/**, **/m/** is bilabial; in **/nf, nv/**, **//n//** represents labiodental [ɱ]; in **/nt, nd, ns, nz/**, **/n/** is alveolar; in **/nc, nj/**, **//n//** represents palatal [ɲ]; in **/nk, ng/**, **//n//** represents velar **/ŋ/**. The voiced continuants **/w, l, y/** do not occur in nasal clusters of this type, their NC correlates being **/mp, nd, nj/** respectively; and the sequences **/mm, nn, nny, ŋŋ/** constitute Geminate Clusters, not Nasal Clusters.

1.2.4. Chart of Geminate Clusters (CC):

pp	**tt**	**cc**	**kk**
bb	**dd**	**jj**	**gg**
—	—	—	///
mm	**nn**	**nny**	**ŋŋ**
ff	**ss**	///	///
vv	**zz**	///	///

The voiced continuants **/w, l, y/** do not occur in geminate clusters, their geminate correlates being **/gg ~ ggw, dd, jj/** respectively. The following pairs illustrate contrasts between simple consonants and the corresponding geminate clusters.

kùbâ	(to be)
kûbbá	(to steal)
kùbíkà	(to report a death)
kūbbìkà	(to dip, submerge)
kùgúlá	(to buy)
kūggúlá	(to open)
kùsâ	(to grind)
kūssá	(to breathe)
kùtâ	(to release, let go)
kûttá	(to kill)
kùyígà	(to learn)
kùyîggá	(to hunt)
mùgó	(rim of a pot, etc.)
mûggó	(stick)
mùyízi	(student)
mùyîzzí	(hunter)

1.2.5. Chart of Cw Clusters:

*pw	tw	cw	kw
bw	*dw	*jw	gw
—	lw	—	///
mw	nw	nyw	*ŋw
—	sw	///	///
—	*zw	///	///

The sequence /*ww/ does not occur; /*yw/ has not been recorded and seems improbable; [fw] and [vw] occur as variants of /f/ and /v/ respectively (see 1.2.2 (6)), and are therefore improbable as phonemic sequences. The sequences /*pw, *dw, *zw, *jw, *ŋw/ are plausible possibilities, but have not been recorded in our data.

1.2.6. Chart of NCw Clusters:

mpw	ntw	ncw	nkw
mbw	ndw	*njw	ngw
—	—	—	///
—	—	—	—
—	nsw	///	///
—	*nzw	///	///

The sequences /*nzw, *njw/ are plausible possibilities but have not been recorded in our data. In view of the corresponding gaps in the charts of NC and Cw clusters, the occurrence of fillers for the slots marked "—" is improbable.

1.2.7. Chart of CCw Clusters:

*ppw	ttw	*ccw	*kkw
bbw	ddw	jjw	ggw
—	—	—	///
mmw	*nnw	nnyw	*ŋŋw
—	*ssw	///	///
—	*zzw	///	///

The sequences marked /*/ are plausible possibilities but have not been recorded in our data. The occurrence of fillers for the slots marked "—" is improbable.

1.2.8. Chart of Cy Clusters:

*py	ty	—	ky
by	dy	—	gy
—	ly	—	///
my	nÿ	—	*ŋy
*fy	—	///	///
*vy	—	///	///

(1) The sequences /*yy, *nyy, *sy, *zy/ do not occur; /*wy, *cy, *jy/ have not been recorded and seem improbable; /*py, *fy, *vy, *ŋy/ are plausible possibilities but have not been recorded in our data.

(2) In /ky/, the first element is palatalized and sometimes fricative, phonetically [ç]. The sequence /ky/ is phonetically very similar to /c/. In /gy/, the first element is palatalized, and the sequence /gy/ is phonetically very similar to /j/.

(3) The sequence /**nÿ**/, consisting of alveolar nasal plus palatal semivowel, /**n + y**/, is phonetically and phonemically distinct from the palatal nasal /**ny**/ [**ñ**]. While /**ny**/ is common, /**nÿ**/ occurs only rarely, as in the following examples:

kùnÿá	(to defecate) (15)
kànÿãlâ ≃ kànyáálâ	(unripe banana) (12)
Mùnÿâní	(Hindu) (1)
nÿó	(an abusive and obscene epithet)
kìnÿó	(curse, obscene word: arse) (7)
mùnÿőbóbó	(dysentery, chronic diarrhoea) (3)
mùnÿőngó	(foreigner—a derogatory term) (1)

1.2.9. Chart of NCy Clusters:

mpy	***nty**	—	**nky**
mby	***ndy**	—	***ngy**
—	—	—	///
—	—	—	—
***nfy**	—	///	///
***nvy**	—	///	///

1.2.10. Chart of CCy Clusters:

ppy	***tty**	—	***kky**
***bby**	***ddy**	—	**ggy**
—	—	—	///
mmy	***nnÿ**	—	—
***ffy**	—	///	///
***vvy**	—	///	///

1.2.11. In the phonology and morphology of Ganda, consonant clusters incorporating /**w**/ and /**y**/ behave like the corresponding simple consonants or clusters without /**w**/ and /**y**/. Thus Cw and Cy clusters behave like C, NCw and NCy clusters like NC, and CCw and CCy clusters like CC. Therefore, except when it may be necessary or desirable to differentiate and designate /**w**/ and /**y**/ clusters as such, they are represented symbolically by C, NC, CC. Hence C represents also Cw and Cy, NC represents also NCw and NCy, CC represents also CCw and CCy.

1.2.12. The only distinctive feature of /**w**/ and /**y**/ clusters, apart from their internal phonemic structure, is that they are usually, but not always, followed by a double vowel VV. For this reason the convention has been adopted in the Standard Ganda Orthography that, with certain listed exceptions, only one vowel letter is written after a /**w**/ or /**y**/ cluster, although phonemically such sequences contain double vowels. See 1.1.7.

1.3.0. TONES AND TONE-MARKING.

1.3.1. Ganda has two tonemes or phonemes of tone, High (H) and Low (L). Orthographically we represent these respectively by the acute /ˊ/ and grave /ˋ/ accents. The substrate (segmental) unit of tonal placement or accommodation is the syllable, each syllable having a capacity, according to type, of one or two tonemes. Long syllables always accommodate two tonemes, no more, no less. Short syllables, when initial or medial in a word, always accommodate one toneme; when word-final they may accommodate one or two tonemes. We refer to the potential of a syllable, or of a substrate phoneme, for tonal accommodation as its Tonal Capacity. The Tonal Nucleus of a syllable may consist of C̲, V, VV or VC.

1.3.2. Tonal clusters occur only in long syllables, or in short syllables when word-final. Tonal clusters may be HH, LL or HL, apparently never *LH. It seems that only one type of tonal cluster, HL, occurs in word-final short syllables.

1.3.3. *Tone-marking:* In the Standard Ganda Orthography no provision is made for tone-marking, and, as noted in 1.1.7, the representation of geminate vowel clusters, involving two vowel phonemes, is not consistent. Generally two vowel symbols are written, but in many cases, i.e. when following Cw or Cy, or when preceding NC, or when initial in the word, the conventions of the orthography prescribe that only one vowel symbol should be written. It would be undesirable to depart from standard usage so radically as to make this study incomprehensible or unacceptable to linguistically untrained speakers and students of the language. However, in following the prescriptions and conventions of the Standard Orthography it becomes necessary to adopt some compromises in the marking of tone.

1.3.4. Five symbols, /◌́, ◌̀, ◌́◌́, ◌̀◌̀, ◌̂/, representing H, L, HH, LL, HL, respectively, are used to mark tones in this study. They are used as follows:

(*a*) Syllabic Consonant (C̩) Nucleus (One toneme): Only two possibilities occur, /◌́/ and /◌̀/, and for typographical convenience the appropriate tone-mark is placed *before* the consonant symbol.

(*b*) Single Vowel (V) Nucleus (One or two tonemes): The tone-mark is placed over the vowel symbol. Three possibilities occur, /◌́/, /◌̀/ and /◌̂/, the last only word-finally.

(*c*) Double Vowel (VV) Nucleus (Two tonemes): When two vowel symbols are written, each carries its own tone-mark, /◌́/ or /◌̀/. When only one vowel symbol is written, it carries double tone-marks, /◌́◌́/, /◌̀◌̀/ or /◌̂/. In such situations, therefore, double tone-marks indicate not only two tonemes, but also two vowel phonemes.

(*d*) Vowel-Consonant (VC) Nucleus (Two tonemes): Double tone-marks, /◌́◌́/, /◌̀◌̀/ or /◌̂/, are used in all cases, and placed over the vowel symbol. In this type of nucleus the vowel is always single, so by this convention the vowel symbol carries the tone-mark for the following consonant as well as its own. Thus also we maintain the convention of (*a*) above that the tone associated with a consonant is marked before the consonant symbol itself.

1.3.5. Examples of tone-marking, with syllable boundaries marked by /./:

mwȅ.zí	(sweeper)	pl. **bèè.zí**
mwê.zí	(moon, month)	pl. **myê.zí**
ˈn.já.lá	(hunger)	
ˈn.já.là	(nails, claws)	sg. **lwâ.lá**
bǔg.gyâ	(newness)	
bűg.gyà	(feminine jealousy)	
kù.wó.lá	(to lend money)	
kù.wó.là	(to become cool)	
mù.tű.nzí	(trader, merchant)	
mù.tû.nzí	(tailor)	
mwâ.ná	(child)	pl. **báà.ná**
mù.tî	(tree)	pl. **mì.tî**
kù.kyã́.wá	(to hate)	
ã.kyã́.wá	(he hates)	
kù.léè.tá	(to bring)	
ã.léè.tá	(he brings)	

1.4.0. SYLLABLE STRUCTURES AND TONAL CAPACITIES.

1.4.1. Two main types of syllables, short and long, occur in Ganda. Short syllables may be composed of C, CV or NCV. Long syllables may be composed of VV, VC, CVV, NCVV, CVC or NCVC. There are thus three types of short syllables and six types of long syllables, a total of nine.

1.4.2. In the regular phonology of Ganda, i.e. excluding the unusual features sometimes found in ideophones, interjections and adoptives, vowel clusters are always geminate and are always components of a single syllable, i.e. syllable boundaries never occur between vowels. Except before CC, word-initial vowels are always long, phonemically VV. Word-initial vowels are therefore always components of a long syllable, VV or VC. Short syllables consisting of V only do not occur.

1.4.3. Consonant clusters, excluding /**w**/ and /**y**/ compounds (see 1.2.5 ff), are of two types, CC and NC. CC clusters are always components of two syllables, i.e. there is always a syllable boundary between the two consonants of a CC cluster. By contrast, NC clusters, when word-initial, are components of two syllables, with a syllable boundary between N and C; but when medial, they are components of a single syllable, combining with the following vowel(s) to form syllables of shape NCV or NCVV (see also 1.4.6). It follows that word-initial consonants in CC and NC clusters are always syllabic. Furthermore, with one exception, syllabic consonants occur only initially in words commencing in CC and NC clusters. The exception is the word-final orthographic sequence /**mu**/, which is usually pronounced as syllabic /**m**/, e.g.

ˈffúmù	[**ˈffúm̀**]	(spear, lance)
mùdúmú	[**mùdúḿ**]	(pitcher, jug)
ˈntàmû	[**ˈntàm̂**]	(clay cooking pot)

1.4.4. The following table indicates the distribution (marked by "x") of the nine types of syllables in initial, medial and final positions in the word, and their tonal capacities in each position. The tonal capacities are represented as follows:

Short: /H, L, F/
Long: /H̲, L̲, F̲/ (phonemically /HH, LL, HL/)

	Initial	Medial	Final
Short:			
1. C̲	x[1] H, L		x[2] H, L, F
2. CV	x H, L	x H, L	x H, L, F
3. NCV		x H, L	x H, L, F
Long:			
4. VV	x H̲, L̲		
5. VC	x[3] H̲, L̲		
6. CVV	x H̲, L̲, F̲	x H̲, L̲, F̲	x H̲
7. CVC	x[3] H̲, L̲, F̲	x[3] H̲, L̲, F̲	
8. NCVV		x H̲, L̲, F̲	x H̲
9. NCVC		x[3] H̲, L̲, F̲	

Notes:

1. Initial C̲ is syllabic only when occurring as the first consonant in a CC or NC cluster, i.e. when preceding Nos. 2. CV, 6. CVV, or 7. CVC.

2. Final C̲ occurs only as /**m**/, with /**mu**/ as free variant. See 1.4.3.
3. VC, CVC, NCVC constitute syllables only when preceding C_2 in a CC sequence, i.e. when preceding Nos. 2. CV, 6. CVV, or 7. CVC.
4. Syllables of shape VV, CVV, NCVV, never occur before CC; those of shape CV, NCV, never occur before NC.

1.4.5. It has already been noted (1.4.3) that, when initial, the first consonant in a CC or NC cluster is syllabic and has tonal capacity. Phonologically and morphologically, however, these two types of cluster are of different orders, and they behave quite differently in respect of their syllabic affiliations when non-initial, i.e. when medial.

1.4.6. When medial, C_1 in a CC cluster lacks syllabic status, and merges with the *preceding* syllable nucleus, but *retains* its tonal capacity. It thus combines with the preceding V, CV or NCV to form a long syllable of shape VC, CVC or NCVC, accommodating two tonemes. The maximum tonal capacity of a syllable, short or long, is two tonemes. Since C_1 in a CC sequence retains its tonal capacity, it follows that the vowel preceding a CC cluster may be single (short) only, never double (long). A further feature of long syllables of shape VC, CVC, NCVC (i.e. ending in a consonant) is that they are tonologically and morphologically equivalent to those of shape VV, CVV, NCVV, respectively (see the table in 1.4.4).

1.4.7. When medial, N in a NC cluster lacks syllabic status and merges with the *following* syllable nucleus, but *loses* its tonal capacity to the preceding vowel which is doubled to VV. This follows from the fact that the vowel preceding a NC cluster must accommodate its own tone as well as that of the N. The vowel preceding a NC cluster is therefore always double, never single. Accordingly the convention has been adopted in the Standard Ganda Orthography that only one vowel letter is written before a NC cluster, but phonemically this always represents a double vowel.

1.4.8. The following examples illustrate these features of the tonal capacities and syllabic affiliations of initial consonants in CC and NC clusters. Syllable boundaries are marked by /./.

(*a*) CC Clusters, Initial and Medial:

ˈg.gí.gí	(screen)	—Without IV
ˈŋ.ŋó.má	(drum)	—Without IV
ˈg.gá.là!	(close!)	—Imperative
ˈd.dú.kà!	(run!)	—Imperative
ẽg.gí.gí	(screen)	—With IV
nãg.gí.gí	(and a screen)	—Prefix /**nà-**/ without IV
nêg.gí.gí	(and a screen)	—Prefix /**n'-**/ with IV
ẽŋ.ŋó.má	(drum)	—With IV
kũg.gá.lá	(to close)	—Infinitive
kũd.dù.ká	(to run)	—Infinitive

(*b*) NC Clusters, Initial and Medial:

ˈn.dí.gá	(sheep)	—Without IV
ˈn.gá.bó	(shield)	—Without IV
ˈn.dá.bà	(I see)	
ˈm.bá.lá	(I count)	

ɛ̃.ndí.gá	(sheep)	—With IV
nɛ̃.ndí.gá	(and a sheep)	—Prefix /**nà-**/ without IV
nɛ̂.ndí.gá	(and a sheep)	—Prefix /**n '-**/ with IV
ɛ̃.ngá.bó	(shield)	—With IV
kɨ̃.ndà.bá	(to see me)	
kɨ̃.mbà.lá	(to count me)	

1.4.9. The examples in 1.4.8 illustrate the syllable shapes Ç, CV, NCV, VV, VC, CVV, CVC. The following additional examples include also the syllable shapes NCVV and NCVC. Nouns are cited here with Initial Vowels (IV).

ˈn.gú.lá	(I buy)	C.CV.CV
ˈm.búù.zá	(I ask)	C.CVV.CV
tú.zĭ.mbá	(We build)	CV.CVV.NCV
bá.lwɛ̃.ná	(They fight)	CV.CVV.CV
twɛ̂.gá.lá	(We love)	CVV.CV.CV
bɛ̀ɛ̀.gá.lá	(They love)	CVV.CV.CV
tûg.gá.lá	(We close)	CVC.CV.CV
bâg.gá.lá	(They close)	CVC.CV.CV
ɛ̃.búù.zá	(He asks)	VV.CVV.CV
ɔ̃.kwâ.tá	(You, sg., seize)	VV.CVV.CV
ɛ̃.lĭn.nyó	(tooth)	VV.CVC.CV
ɔ̃.lɨ̃g.gí	(door)	VV.CVC.CV
ɛ̃p.péé.sà	(button)	VC.CVV.CV
ɛ̃j.jĭ.njá	(stone)	VC.CVV.NCV
ɛ̃.mbú.zì	(goat)	VV.NCV.CV
ɛ̃.njó.vú	(elephant)	VV.NCV.CV
ɛ̃.mpíi.má	(dagger)	VV.NCVV.CV
ɛ̃.nkû.mbí	(hoe)	VV.NCVV.NCV
ɛ̃.ntɨ̃g.gá	(giraffe)	VV.NCVC.CV
ɛ̃.ngɛ̃t.tó	(shoe)	VV.NCVC.CV

1.5.0. MORPHOPHONEMIC PROCESSES.

1.5.1. *Morphophonemics associated with Prefix /N-/.* A prefix /**N-**/ occurs in the following situations:

(*a*) Noun Prefixes of Cl. 9 and 10;
(*b*) Adjectival Prefixes of Cl. 9 and 10;
(*c*) Subject Prefix, 1st p. sg.;
(*d*) Object Prefix, 1st p. sg.

In all cases /**N-**/ is manifest as a nasal consonant [**m, ŋ, n, ɲ, ŋ**] homorganic with the initial consonant of the stem or radical, which itself may undergo morphophonemic replacement. The morphophonemic process associated with these prefixes results in the production of NC or NN clusters, as illustrated below.

(1) **N- + p > mp**
t > nt
c > nc [ɲc]
k > nk [ŋk]
d > nd

N- + j > nj [ɲj]
f > nf [ŋf]
s > ns
v > nv [ŋv]
z > nz

Examples:

'mpápúlá	(papers), 10	cf.	**lùpápúlá, 11**
'mpímá	(I weigh)		**kùpímá, 15**
'ntĩ	(skewers), 10		**lùtĩ, 11**
'ntũndá	(I sell)		**kùtũndá, 15**
'ncũngá	(I nag)		**kùcũngá, 15**
'nkómélâ	(fences), 10		**lùkómélâ, 11**
'nkólà	(I work)		**kùkólà, 15**
'ndêmbúlá	(I buy cheaply)		**kùdêmbúlá, 15**
'njégélé	(chains), 10		**lùjégélé, 11**
'njĩngá	(I improvise)		**kùjĩngá, 15**
'nfúmó	(legends), 10		**lùfúmó, 11**
'nfũmbá	(I cook)		**kùfũmbá, 15**
'nsózì	(hills), 10		**lùsózì, 11**
'nsómá	(I read)		**kùsómá, 15**
'nvĩlí	(hair), 10		**lùvĩlí, 11**
'nvúbá	(I fish)		**kùvúbá, 15**
'nzĩmbá	(I build)		**kùzĩmbá, 15**

(2) **N- + m > mm**
n > nn
ny > nny [ññ]
ŋ > ŋŋ

Examples:

'mmúlí	(reeds), 10	cf.	**lùmúlí, 11**
'mmálá	(I complete)		**kùmálá, 15**
'nnákù	(days), 10		**lùnákù, 11**
'nnóònyá	(I seek)		**kùnóònyá, 15**
'nnyágó	(spear shafts), 10		**lùnyágó, 11**
'nnyúmyá	(I converse)		**kùnyúmyá, 15**
'ŋŋóólá	(I disapprove)		**kùŋóólá, 15**

(3) **N- + w > mp**

Examples:

'mpãndè	(measures of cloth), 10	cf.	**lùwãndè, 11**
'mpúlilá	(I hear)		**kùwúlilá, 15**

(4) **N- + b > mb ~ mm**

(*a*) **/mm/** occurs when preceding a NC cluster in the next syllable, e.g.

'mmẽngó	(grind-stones), 10	cf.	**lùbẽngó, 11**
'mmûmbá	(I mould)		**kùbûmbá, 15**

(*b*) **/mb/** occurs in all other contexts, e.g.

'mbááwô	(boards), 10	cf.	**lùbááwô, 11**
'mbú	(rows, classes), 10		**lùbú, 11**
'mbálá	(I count)		**kùbálá, 15**
'mbwãmá	(I crouch)		**kùbwãmá, 15**

(5) **N- + l > nd ~ nn**
y > nj [ñj] ~ nny [ññ]
g > ng [ŋg] ~ ŋŋ

(*a*) **/nn, nny, ŋŋ/** occur when preceding either a NC cluster or a plain nasal consonant in the next syllable, e.g.

ˈnnímì	(tongues), 10	cf.	**lùlímì, 11**
ˈnnímá	(I cultivate)		**kùlímá, 15**
ˈnnīndá	(I wait)		**kùlīndá, 15**
ˈnnyîmbá	(songs), 10		**lùyîmbá, 11**
ˈnnyímìlílá	(I stand up)		**kùyímìlílá, 15**
ˈnnyîngílá	(I enter)		**kùyîngílá, 15**
ˈŋŋẽndó	(journeys), 10		**lùgẽndó, 11**
ˈŋŋãmbó	(rumours), 10		**lùgãmbó, 11**
ˈŋŋáànà	(I refuse)		**kùgáànà, 15**

N.B.—With a few stems and radicals commencing in /yi/, **/N- + y > mp/**. Historically these had initial **/w/** instead of **/y/**. Examples:

ˈmpî	(slaps, smacks), 10	cf.	**lùyî, 11**
ˈmpítà	(I call, I pass)		**kùyítà, 15**
ˈmpítìlílá	(I surpass)		**kùyítìlílá, 15**

(*b*) **/nd, nj, ng/** occur in all other contexts, e.g.

ˈndélé	(thongs), 10	cf.	**lùlélé, 11**
ˈndábà	(I see)		**kùlábà, 15**
ˈndéètá	(I bring)		**kùléètá, 15**
ˈnjîggá	(I hunt)		**kùyîggá, 15**
ˈnjúzá	(I tear)		**kùyúzá, 15**
ˈnjígìlízá	(I teach)		**kùyígìlízá, 15**
ˈngô	(corral fences), 10		**lùgô, 11**
ˈngúúdó	(highways), 10		**lùgúúdó, 11**
ˈngúlá	(I buy)		**kùgúlá, 15**

(6) The following additional points should be noted:

(*a*) All vowel-commencing stems and radicals have allomorphs in **/yV/** which occur with prefix **/N-/** ,and the associated morphophonemics are as for initial **/y/**, i.e. **/N- + y > nj ~ nny/** (see 1.5.1 (5) above), e.g.

ˈnnyẽndó	(gourd scoops), 10	cf.	**lwẽndó, 11**
stem: **/-eendo ~ -yendo/**			
ˈnnyánìká	(I put out to dry)	cf.	**kwãnìká, 15**
radical: **/-aanik- ~ -yanik-/**			
ˈnjéyó	(brooms), 10	cf.	**lwẽyó, 11**
stem: **/-eeyo ~ -yeyo/**			
ˈnjágálá	(I love)	cf.	**kwãgálá, 15**
radical: **/-aagal- ~ -yagal-/**			

See also 2.13.2 (9), 6.2.6, 5.2.3 (*a*).

(*b*) All stems and radicals with initial NN and NC have allomorphs in **/yiN/** and **/yiNC/** respectively, which occur with prefix **/N-/**, and the associated morphophonemics are as for initial **/y/**, i.e. **/N- + y > nny/** (see 1.5.1 (5) above), e.g.

ˈnnyìnyâ	(trenches), 10	cf.	**lũnnyâ, 11**
stem: **/-nnya ~ -yinya/**			
ˈnnyínyó	(drying racks), 10	cf.	**lũnnyó, 11**
stem: **/-nnyo ~ -yinyo/**			

ˈnnyímà (I begrudge) cf. **kûmmá, 15**
radical: **/-mm- ~ -yim-/**
ˈnnyínyìká (I immerse) cf. **kűnnyìká, 15**
radical: **/-nnyik- ~ -yinyik-/**
ˈnnyîmbê (death rites), 10 cf. **lûmbê, 11**
stem: **/-mbe ~ -yimbe/**
See also 2.13.2 (9), 6.2.5 (1), 5.2.3 (*b*) and (*d*).

(*c*) Most stems and radicals with initial CC (other than NN) have allomorphs in **/ziC/** which occur with prefix **/N-/**, and the associated morphophonemics are as for initial **/z/**, i.e. **/N- + z > nz/** (see 1.5.1 (1) above), e.g.

ˈnzígí (doors), 10 cf. **lűggí, 11**
stem: **/-ggi ~ -zigi/**
ˈnzízì (wells), 10 cf. **lûzzí, 11**
stem: **/-zzi ~ -zizi/**
ˈnzíbôbbó (worn-out baskets), 10 cf. **lűbbôbbó, 11**
stem: **/-bbobbo ~ -zibobbo/**
ˈnzíjá (I am coming) cf. **kűjjá, 15**
radical: **/-jj- ~ -zij-/**
ˈnzígúlá (I open) cf. **kűggúlá, 15**
radical: **/-ggul- ~ -zigul-/**
N.B.—A few stems are exceptional, e.g.
lűggyâ (courtyard), 11 pl. **ˈmpyâ, 10**
műggyâ (new—Adj.), 1 cf. **ˈmpyâ, 9**
stems: **/-ggya ~ -pya/**
See also 2.13.2 (8), 6.2.5 (2), 5.2.3 (*c*).

1.5.2. *Morphophonemics associated with prefix /#-/.* A prefix **/#-/** occurs in the following situations:
(*a*) Noun Prefix of Cl. 5;
(*b*) Adjectival Prefix of Cl. 5;
(*c*) Noun Prefix of Cl. 9;
(*d*) Enumerative Prefix of Cl. 10.
In all cases **/#-/** produces doubling or gemination of the initial consonant of the stem or radical, which itself may undergo morphophonemic replacement.

(1) **#- + p > pp** **#- + b > bb**
t > tt **d > dd**
c > cc **j > jj**
k > kk **g > gg**
f > ff **v > vv**
s > ss **z > zz**

Examples:

ˈppéésà	(button), 5	cf. **màpéésà, 6**
ˈttábì	(branch), 5	**màtábì, 6**
ˈccúpà	(bottle), 5	**màcúpà, 6**
ˈkkúbò	(road, path), 5	**màkúbò, 6**
ˈffúmù	(spear, lance), 5	**màfúmù, 6**
ˈssângá	(tusk, ivory), 5	**màsângá, 6**

ˈbbânjá	(debt), 5	cf.	**màbânjá**, 6
ˈddáálâ	(step, ladder), 5		**màdáálâ**, 6
ˈjjámà	(dirty—Adj.), 5		**màjámà**, 6
ˈggî	(egg), 5		**màgî**, 6
ˈvvíívî	(knee), 5		**mavíívî**, 6
ˈzzígà	(tear), 5		**màzígà**, 6

(2) **#- + l > dd**
y > jj
w > ggw ~ gg[1]

Examples:

ˈddóbò	(fish hook), 5	cf.	**màlóbò**, 6
ˈjjùbâ	(dove), 5		**màyùbâ**, 6
ˈggwãngà	(nation, tribe), 5		**màwãngà**, 6
ˈggŭggwê	(human lung), 5		**màwŭggwê**, 6

For additional examples, see 2.8.2 (4), 2.8.3, 2.12.2 (3). Note that /**#-**/ does not occur with stems commencing in CC (including NN), N and NC, which require the prefixal allomorph /**li-**/ (see 2.8.2). Nor does /**#-**/ occur with vowel-commencing noun stems, which require the prefixal allomorph /**ly-**/ (see 2.8.2 (2)). With vowel-commencing adjectival stems, however, two alternative usages occur:

(*a*) /**ly-**/ with VV-allomorph of stem, e.g. **ẽggî ẽlyêlú** (a white egg)

(*b*) /**#-**/ with yV-allomorph of stem, e.g. **ẽggî ẽjjélù** (a white egg)

1.5.3. *Word Fusion.* In normal Ganda speech the words are run together or fused into larger utterance groups, and this involves changes affecting word-final vowels, syllable units and tones. These changes are particularly manifest before words commencing in vowels, whereupon the sequence of words results in juxtaposition of final and initial vowels. No detailed study has been made of these processes, but the following features have been observed.

(*a*) *Vowels:* When the following word commences in a vowel, word-final /**e, a, o**/ are elided; /**i**/ is elided if preceded by /**s, z, y, ny**/, but otherwise it is replaced by /**y**/; /**u**/ is elided if preceded by /**f, v**/, but otherwise it is replaced by /**w**/.[2]
Examples:

ˈmbàzê ãmàgî	>	**ˈmbàzâmàgî**
(I have counted the eggs)		
ˈmbálá ẽndígá	>	**ˈmbálẽndígá**
(I am counting sheep)		
ŏmùsáwò ãgẽnzè	>	**ŏmùsáwãgẽnzè**
(The doctor has gone)		
ẽmbàláàsì ẽnnyãngú	>	**ẽmbàláàsẽnnyãngú**
(fast horse(s))		
ẽmbúzì ẽnfû	>	**ẽmbúzẽnfû**
(dead goat(s))		
ẽndógòyì ẽnnáfú	>	**ẽndógòyẽnnáfú**
(weak donkey(s))		
ẽnnyónyí ẽnfû	>	**ẽnnyónyẽnfû**
(dead bird(s))		

[1] /**gg**/ before /**u**/, /**ggw**/ before other vowels.
[2] A slight /**w**/ glide may occur after /**f, v**/, as noted in 1.2.2 (6).

ŏmùtî ŏmùwãnvù > **ŏmùtyômùwãnvù**
(a tall tree)
ãbásómí ãbó > **ãbásómyâbó**
(those students)

ẽnkófú ẽzó > **ẽnkófêzó**
(those guineafowl)
ẽnjóvú ẽzó > **ẽnjóvêzó**
(those elephants)

ẽnkúsù ẽzó > **ẽnkúswẽzó**
(those parrots)
ãbãntú ãbágâggá > **ãbãntwãbágâggá**
(rich people)

(*b*) *Syllables:* When a word-final vowel is elided or replaced by /**y**/ or /**w**/, it is eliminated as a syllable nucleus, and the preceding consonant or consonant cluster forms a new syllable unit with the initial vowel of the following word. In the following examples the syllables are demarcated by /./.

ã.bã.ntú ã.bó > **ã.bã.ntwâ.bó**
(those people)
ẽ.mbwâ ẽ.nkã.mbwé > **ẽ.mbwê.nkã.mbwé**
(fierce dog(s))
ŏ.mù.lẽ.nzì ã.gẽ.nzè > **ŏ.mù.lẽ.nzã.gẽ.nzè**
(The boy has gone)
ˈm.bá.lá ẽ.ndí.gá > **ˈm.bá.lẽ.ndí.gá**
(I am counting sheep)
ˈn.dá.bà ẽg.gí.gí > **ˈn.dá.bẽg.gí.gí**
(I see the curtain)

Note that the principles affecting the syllabic status and tonal capacity of word-initial consonants in CC and NC clusters (see 1.4.5 ff) also operate across conventional word-boundaries when the second word in the sequence does not commence in a vowel, but in CC or NC.

sí.là.bà ˈg.gí.gí > **sí.là.bãg.gí.gí**
(I do not see the curtain)
sí.kù.bà ˈm.bwâ > **sí.kù.bã.mbwâ**
(I am not hitting the dog)

(*c*) *Tones:* No more than two tonemes occur per syllable, and these only in the sequences HH /ˊˊ/, LL /ˇˇ/, HL /ˆ/. Therefore when final and initial syllables merge in word fusion, any tonemes in excess of two are elided. Sequences of high tones produce /ˊˊ/, sequences of low tones produce /ˇˇ/, and sequences of high and low tones produce /ˆ/.

ẽnnyámá ẽnvúndú > **ẽnnyámẽnvúndú**
(bad meat)
ˈngúlá ẽbítábó > **ˈngúlẽbítábó**
(I am buying books)
ẽmbúzì ẽnfû > **ẽmbúzẽnfû**
(dead goat(s))
ŏmùsótà ŏgwó > **ŏmùsótŏgwó**
(that snake)

ðmúlēnzí ðyó (that boy)	>	**ðmúlēnzðyó**
ējjīnjá ēlyó (that stone)	>	**ējjīnjēlyó**
ðmùtí ðgwó (that tree)	>	**ðmùtyðgwó**
āmàgí āgó (those eggs)	>	**āmàgyâgó**

Chapter 2

THE NOUN CLASSES

2.1.0. INTRODUCTION.

2.1.1. Ganda has a system of 23 noun classes distinguished by prefix and concordial agreements. In most nominal prefixes two substrate morphemes are identifiable, the Initial Vowel (IV) and the Basic Prefix (BP). The BP is an integral part of the noun, inseparable from the noun stem except in abstract analysis; furthermore, the BP and the noun stem are united by sharing a single superstrate morpheme, the tonal suprafix. Thus, excluding the IV, a Ganda noun consists of at least three morphemes, BP, Stem[1] and Tonal Suprafix; and whereas the sequence of consonants and vowels may be segmented into two substrate morphemes, no corresponding morphological break exists in the tonal sequence. For example, in the noun /**mùsòtâ**/ (snake), the substrate sequence may be segmented into BP /**mu-**/ and stem /**-sota**/, but the superstrate sequence /\\^/ constitutes a single tonal morpheme.[2] The IV, on the other hand, is separable from the noun in that the noun may occur without it; and it has its own tonal morpheme, i.e. the IV itself consists of two morphemes, one substrate, the other superstrate. Very often the use of the IV with a noun involves a tonomorphemic substitution, e.g.

/**mùsòtâ**/ but /**ǒmùsótà**/ (snake)
/**mùlímí**/ but /**ǒmúlímí**/ (tiller)

2.1.2. The IV usually takes the form of the secondary vowel /**e, a, o**/ corresponding to that in the BP /**i, a, u**/, but for some class prefixes, notably those of Cl. 1a, 2a, 16, 17, 18, there is no IV. The precise function and significance of the IV has not yet been determined; not infrequently Ganda speakers disagree as to whether or not the IV should be used in a given context. Phonemically, the IV is always a single vowel before CC, otherwise it is always a double vowel, but in conformity with the Standard Orthography of Ganda we represent it by a single vowel symbol in all cases.

As regards the BP, it is useful to distinguish between "primary" prefixes, which are affixed directly on to stems, and "secondary" prefixes, which are superimposed on other noun prefixes. A feature of secondary prefixes in Ganda is that they do not have IV's, whereas primary prefixes do. Hence the prefixes of Cl. 1a, 2a, 16, 17, 18, are secondary (but see 2.19.4), those of all other classes except Cl. 23 are primary. The prefix of Cl. 23 is secondary in that it is superimposed on some other prefix, nevertheless it does have an IV (see 2.24.2 f). The prefixes /**bi-**/, /**N-**/ and /**bu-**/ of Cl. 8, 10 and 14 (and possibly some others) may occur in secondary function, while Cl. 10 has a secondary allomorph /**zi-**/; forms incorporating these do not take the IV (see also 2.4.3 (6), 2.11.4, 2.13.2 (2), 2.16.4).

2.1.3. The BP usually has the form CV, with allomorphs CVV, C, Cw and Cy, but in some cases it occurs as zero /**Ø-**/, morphophonemic influence /**#-**/, or nasal consonant plus morphophonemic influence /**N-**/. In the following list, the noun prefixes are numbered according to the system adopted by Carl Meinhof, except that the numbers for Cl. 12 and 13 are reversed in accordance with practice now generally current in Comparative

[1] In many cases, of course, the stem may be further segmented into Radical and Suffix.
[2] In other Bantu languages, e.g. Tswana, the tone on the prefix is morphologically separate from that on the stem. In Ganda too, the prefix tone *can* be separated from the stem tone(s), but this considerably complicates description of the tonomorphology.

Bantu Studies, i.e. Cl. 12 /**ka-**/ corresponds to Meinhof's Cl. 13, and Cl. 13 /**tu-**/ to Meinhof's Cl. 12. Ganda appears to have a more extensive system of noun classes and prefixes than any other Bantu language; nevertheless, it lacks Classes 19 and 21 which occasionally occur elsewhere. In this list the prefixes and examples are given with IV wherever it occurs:

Cl.	IV-BP	Example	
1	**o-mu-**	**ŏmùkázì**	(woman)
1a	**Ø-**	**kìtângé**	(my father)
2	**a-ba-**	**ăbàkázì**	(women)
2a	**ba-**	**bàkìtângé**	(my fathers)
3	**o-mu-**	**ŏmùsótà**	(snake)
4	**e-mi-**	**ĕmìsótà**	(snakes)
5	**e-#-**	**ĕffúmù**	(spear)
6	**a-ma-**	**ămàfúmù**	(spears)
7	**e-ki-**	**ĕkítábó**	(book)
8	**e-bi-**	**ĕbítábó**	(books)
9	**e-N-**	**ĕnkókò**	(chicken)
10	**e-N-**	**ĕnkókò**	(chickens)
11	**o-lu-**	**ŏlùlímì**	(tongue)
12	**a-ka-**	**ăkàsáàlé**	(arrow)
13	**o-tu-**	**ŏtùlô**	(sleep)
14	**o-bu-**	**ŏbùsáàlé**	(arrows)
15	**o-ku-**	**ŏkúgúlá**	(to buy)
16	**wa-**	**wàkàtî**	(between, in the middle)
17	**ku-**	**kùkìtábó**	(on the book)
18	**mu-**	**mùkìtábó**	(in the book)
20	**o-gu-**	**ŏgùsâjjá**	(giant)
22	**a-ga-**	**ăgàsâjjá**	(giants)
23	**e-Ø-**	**ĕKămpálâ**	(at, to Kampala)

2.1.4. As regards grammatical number of nouns and their prefixes and classes, we recognize three categories: Singular, referring to one object, with which occurs a regularly correlated Plural, referring to more than one; and Neutral, which does not have any correlative form and designates neither singular nor plural. Neutral nouns are usually terms for liquid or semi-liquid or other substances normally occurring in the mass, abstract concepts, locatives and infinitives. While Cl. 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, are exclusively or predominantly neutral, we find many neutral nouns also in the predominantly plural Cl. 6 and 14; and occasional instances of neutral nouns occur in various other classes which may be predominantly singular or plural. The following list reflects the usual number values and class correlations of the Ganda prefixes:

Singular		Plural		Neutral	
1	**omu-**	2	**aba-**		
1a	**Ø-**	2a	**ba-**		
3	**omu-**	4	**emi-**		
5	**e#-**	6	**ama-**	6	**ama-**
7	**eki-**	8	**ebi-**		
9	**eN-**	10	**eN-**		
11	**olu-**	10	**eN-**		

Singular		Plural		Neutral	
12	**aka-**	14	**obu-**	14	**obu-**
				13	**otu-**
				15	**oku-**
				16	**wa-**
				17	**ku-**
				18	**mu-**
20	**ogu-**	22	**aga-**		
				23	**eØ-**

2.1.5. In the following sections each noun class is described individually with respect to grammatical number, class correlations, morphology of prefix, and significance. Examples of nouns are given in the "citation form" without Initial Vowel, i.e. the form in which informants cite a noun in isolation. It is in this citation form that we find the basic tone pattern or tonomorph from which other tonal forms are predictable. The citation form also functions as the simplest Pseudoverbal (Copulative) form, expressing "He/She/It is . . . ", "They are . . . ". The detailed analysis of tonomorphology of nouns is set out in Chapter 3.

2.1.6. Allomorphic variants of the basic noun prefixes occur mainly in association with vowel-commencing stems and NC-commencing stems. It is noteworthy that vowel-commencing stems have initial secondary vowels /**e, a, o**/, very rarely primary /**i, u**/, and that all initial vowels in stems are double. In our corpus the only noun stems commencing in /**i, u**/ are:

-iiko, cf. **mw.íkó** (plaster, trowel), Cl. 3
-ungu, cf. **m.ûngû** (vegetable marrow), Cl. 3
-uuma, cf. **ky.ûmá** (metal object), Cl. 7
-uuyi, cf. **l.úúyì** (side, direction), Cl. 11
-uugi, cf. **b.úùgí** (maize-meal porridge), Cl.14
-iiso, allomorph of /**-so**/, see 2.13.2 (3)

We use /./ here, and elsewhere in this chapter, to mark the morpheme boundary between prefix and stem wherever this is not obvious.

2.2.0. NOUN CLASS 1.

2.2.1. *Number:* Singular, with correlative Plurals in Cl. 2.

2.2.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**o-**/.
BP: /**mu- ~ muu- ~ mw-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**mw-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowels /**i, e, a, o**/.[3]

mw.ẽzí	(sweeper)	pl.	**b.èèzí**
mw.ãmì	(chief, Mr)		**b.áámì**
mw.âná	(child)		**b.áàná**
mw.ãgàlwá	(loved one)		**b.áágàlwá**
mw.õgézí	(speaker, talker)		**b.òògézí**

[3] An allomorph /*m-/ would be expected to occur with stems commencing in the vowel /**u**/. No examples have been noted.

(2) The allomorph /**muu-**/, represented orthographically by /**mu-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC.

mũntú	(person)	pl.	**bãntú**
mũmbẽjjá	(princess)		**bãmbẽjjá**
mũNgélézà	(Englishman)		**bãNgélézà**

(3) The allomorph /**mu-**/ occurs with all other types of stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC.

mùfû	(dead person)	pl.	**bàfû**
mûbbí	(thief)		**bâbbí**
mûddú	(male slave, servant)		**bâddú**
mûssí	(killer, butcher)		**bâssí**
mùsâjjá	(man)		**bàsâjjá**
mùkázì	(woman, wife)		**bàkázì**
mùlímí	(tiller, cultivator)		**bàlímí**
mùlẽnzí	(boy)		**bàlẽnzí**
mùwàlâ	(girl)		**bàwàlâ**
mùsáwò	(doctor)		**bàsáwò**
mùyîzzí	(hunter)		**bàyîzzí**
mùlãngílá	(prince)		**bàlãngílá**
mùvúbúkâ	(youth)		**bàvúbúkâ**
mùyígìlízá	(teacher)		**bàyígìlízá**
mùtàmíìvú	(drunkard)		**bàtàmíìvú**
mũggází	(doorkeeper)		**bãggází**
mũjjãnjábí	(nurse)		**bãjjãnjábí**
mùGãndà	(Ganda national)		**bàGãndà**
mùLúúlû	(Luo national)		**bàLúúlû**
mùWálábù	(Arab)		**bàWálábù**

2.2.3. *Significance:* Exclusively personal, including all national, tribal and other ethnic designations.

2.2.4. A number of nouns of Cl. 1 apparently never occur with IV. These are mainly kinship terms or terms expressing specific types of social relationship.

mùgãndà	(brother/sister)[4]	pl.	**bàgãndà**
mùkámà	(lord, master)		**bàkámà**
mùlìláànwá	(neighbour) (*Note* 1)		**bàlìláànwá**
mùtábàní	(son, my son)		**bàtábàní**
mùwàlâ	(daughter) (*Note* 2)		**bàwàlâ**
mũnnângé	(my companion) (*Note* 3)		**bãnnângé**
mũnnô	(your sg. companion)		**bãnnô**
mũnnê	(his/her companion)		**bãnnê**
mw.ãnnyìnázé	(my brother/sister) (*Note* 4)		**b.ãnnyìnázé**
mw.ãnnyòkó	(your sg. brother/sister)		**b.ãnnyòkó**
mw.ãnnyìná	(his/her sister/brother)		**b.ãnnyìná**

Notes: 1. Alternatively and more commonly a noun of Cl. 1a, with plural /**bàmùlìláànwá**/.
2. Contrast /**mùwàlâ**/ (girl), which occurs with IV.
3. Companion, fellow, age-mate, chum, pal, etc. A full series occurs also with plural possessive suffixes.
4. Brother of a female, sister of a male. A full series occurs also with plural possessive suffixes.

[4] Brother of a male, sister of a female. This noun is always used with a possessive.

2.3.0. NOUN CLASS 2.

2.3.1. *Number:* Plural, with correlative Singulars in Cl. 1.

2.3.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**a-**/.
BP: /**ba-** ~ **baa-** ~ **b-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**b-**/ occurs with vowel-commencing stems.

b.áámì	(chiefs, Messrs)	cf. Cl. 1	**mw.ámì**
b.áànà	(children)		**mw.ânà**
b.èèzí	(sweepers)		**mw.ézí**
b.òògézí	(speakers)		**mw.ógézí**

(2) The allomorph /**baa-**/, represented orthographically by /**ba-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC.

bántú	(people)	cf. Cl. 1	**múntú**
bámbéjjá	(princesses)		**múmbéjjá**
báNgélézà	(Englishmen)		**múNgélézà**

(3) The allomorph /**ba-**/ occurs with all other types of stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC. For examples see 2.2.2 (3).

2.3.3. *Significance:* As for correlative singulars in Cl. 1. See 2.2.3.

2.3.4. A number of nouns of Cl. 2 apparently never occur with IV. For examples of these see 2.2.4.

2.4.0. NOUN CLASS 1a.

2.4.1. *Number:* Predominantly Singular, with correlative Plurals in Cl. 2a, 8, 10 and 14, but also Neutral in a number of instances.

2.4.2. *Morphology of Prefix:*
BP: /**Ø-**/.

2.4.3. *Significance:* Cl. 1a contains all personal names, most kinship terms, titles, names of deities and honorific appellations, personified animal names, and many miscellaneous nouns, both personal and impersonal.

(1) Personal Nouns:

Mùkásá	Men's or boy's names	pl.	**bàMùkásá**
Kàséddè			**bàKàséddè**
'Nsímbì			**báNsímbì**
'Nnákú	Women's or girl's names		**báNnákú**
'Nnámbí			**báNnámbí**
'Nnánkyà			**báNnánkyà**

(2) Kinship Terms:

kìtángé	(my father)	pl.	**bàkìtángé**
kìtááwó	(your sg. father)		**bàkìtááwó**

kìtááwê	(his/her father)	pl. **bàkìtááwê**
kìtâffé	(our father)	**bàkìtâffé**
kìtâmmwé	(your pl. father)	**bàkìtâmmwé**
kìtáàbwé	(their father)	**bàkìtáàbwé**
'mmângé	(my mother)	**bãmmângé**
'nnyókó	(your sg. mother) (*Note* 1)	**bãnnyókó**
'nnyíná	(his/her mother)	**bãnnyíná**
'nnyâffé	(our mother)	**bãnnyâffé**
'nnyâmmwé	(your pl. mother)	**bãnnyâmmwé**
'nnyáàbwé	(their mother)	**bãnnyáàbwé**
táàtá	(my dad—familiar)	—
táátáwô	(your sg. dad)	—
táátáwê	(his/her dad)	—
máàmá	(my mum—familiar)	—
máámáwô	(your sg. mum)	—
máámáwê	(his/her mum)	—
bàzé	(my husband) (*Note* 2)	**bàbàzé**
'kkõjjâ	(my maternal uncle)	**bãkkõjjâ**
'ssẽngâ	(my maternal aunt)	**bãssẽngâ**
'jjãjjà	(my grandfather/grandmother)	**bãjjãjjà**

Notes: 1. This term must be used very circumspectly, and may be regarded as offensive. The form /**màámáwô**/ is generally preferable.

2. This and the following forms are members of series expressing the full range of possessive relationships as for /**kìtângé**/, etc.

(3) Titles, names of deities and honorific appellations:

'ssébò	(sir, master, gentleman)	pl. **bãssébò**
'nnyábò	(ma'am, madam, lady)	**bãnnyábò**
Kàtõndá	(God)	**bàkàtõndá**
Lùbáálè	(name of a deity)	—
Wãnnèmá	(a Lùbáálè spirit)	—
Wàlûmbé	(Death)	—
kàbákà	(king—living) [5]	
'ssékàbákà	(king—deceased)	
kàtîkkiló	(prime minister)	
'Ssáábàsâjjá Kàbákà	(His Highness the Kabaka)	
'Ssáàbálãngílá	(Head of the Princes)	
'Ssẽnsálilé	(Head of the Kabaka's milkmen)	
'Ssékíbóóbô	(Chief of Kyâggwé)	
Kìmbùgwê	(Chief of Bùlúùlí)	
Kìwééwá	(First son of the king after appointment to the title)	
'Nnáábàkyâlá	(Head of the royal wives)	
'Nnáálînnyá	(Queen's sister)	

(4) Personified animal names, etc., occurring for example in folktales:

Wàkáyìmá	(Mr Rabbit)	pl. **bàWàkáyìmá**
Wãnjóvú	(Mr Elephant)	**bàWãnjóvú**
Wãnkòkó	(Mrs Hen)	**bàWãnkòkó**
Wãngó	(Mr Leopard)	**bàWãngó**

[5] Plurals of this and the following nouns occur, but infrequently.

(5) Miscellaneous personal nouns:

ãní?	(who? whom?)	pl.	**bàání?**
gûndí	(whats-his-name, so-and-so)		**bàgûndí**
kàláàní	(clerk)		**bàkàláàní**
kàbónà	(priest)		**bàkàbónà**
kãddúwãnnèmá	(cripple)		**bàkãddúwãnnèmá**
lùjúùjú	(toper, drunkard)		**bàlùjúùjú**
màtálisí	(messenger)		**bàmàtálisí**
ˈnnãbbí	(prophet)		**bãnnãbbí**
ˈnnámwãndû	(widow)		**bãnnámwãndû**
ˈnnàmágòyé	(albino)		**bãnnàmágòyé**
ˈssébĩntú	(very rich person)		**bãssébĩntú**
ˈssẽmpálà	(unfortunate person)		**bãssẽmpálà**

(6) Miscellaneous impersonal nouns, mainly names of animals, with plurals in Cl. 8, 10 and 14. The plural prefixes are superimposed and do not have Initial Vowels (see 2.1.2).

ˈnnámúlímí	(ant-eater)
	pl. **bĩnnámúlímí** (8)
ˈssõssòlyê	(sp. of bird, Bulbul)
	pl. **bĩssõssòlyê** (8)
ˈnnãbbúbí	(spider)
	pl. **ˈnnãbbúbí** (10)
ˈnnáműnnűngù	(porcupine)
	pl. **ˈnnáműnnűngù** (10)
kàmúnyé	(sp. of hawk)
	pl. **bùkàmúnyé** (14)
ˈndíízí	(small yellow type of banana)
	pl. **bũndíízí** (14)
ˈnnàwólòvú	(chameleon)
	pl. **bũnnàwólòvú** (14)
ˈnnáműŋŋóónâ	(crow)
	pl. **bĩnnáműŋŋóónâ** (8) ≃ **ˈnnáműŋŋóónâ** (10)
ˈŋŋàálí	(Crowned Crane)
	pl. **bĩŋŋàálí** (8) ≃ **ˈŋŋàálí** (10)
ˈssékányólyâ	(Grey Heron)
	pl. **bĩssékányólyâ** (8) ≃ **ˈssékányólyâ** (10)
ˈssĩggá	(centipede)
	pl. **bĩssĩggá** (8) ≃ **ˈssĩggá** (10)
wõnzí	(crested falcon)
	pl. **bìwõnzí** (8) ≃ **bùwõnzí** (14)

There appears to be some heteroconcordance with these nouns, i.e. they do not govern Cl. 1a agreements consistently, or do so alternatively. This feature requires further study, as does the question of their correlative plurals in Cl. 8, 10 and 14 and concordial agreements thereof.

(7) Miscellaneous impersonal nouns, neutral in number.

ˈbbógóyá	(type of eating banana)
bwînó	(ink)
dòòdô	(spinach)
ˈddűmbì	(September rains)

gõnjâ	(type of cooking banana)
kááwà	(coffee)
kàbúlà	(type of banana for making beer)
kàwó	(green peas)
kàwáálí	(smallpox)
kàménya	(rheumatism)
kàsóólí	(maize)
kìbűggà	(nettle)
kìbúyágá	(storm)
kyâyí	(tea)
lùmőndé	(sweet potato)
mùsisî	(earthquake)
ˈppâmbá	(cotton)
ˈssùkáàlí	(sugar)
ˈssäbbúùní	(soap)
ˈssênnyígá	(cold, influenza)
táábà ≃ tàbá	(tobacco)
ˈttôggó	(March rains)

2.5.0. NOUN CLASS 2a.

2.5.1. *Number:* Plural, with correlative Singulars in Cl. 1a.

2.5.2. *Morphology of Prefix:*
BP: /**ba-** ~ **baa-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**baa-**/, represented orthographically by /**ba-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC.
bäNsîmbì (the Nsimbis) cf. Cl. 1a **ˈNsîmbì**

(2) The allomorph /**ba-**/ occurs with all other stems. For examples see 2.4.3.

2.5.3. *Significance:* As for correlative singulars in Cl. 1a. It should be noted that the Cl. 2a prefix /**ba-**/ indicates either numerical or associative plurality. In expressing numerical plurality, it simply indicates more than one of the persons or things denoted by the singular noun. In expressing associative plurality, which occurs mainly with personal nouns, it indicates the person denoted by the singular noun and his usual associates, including friends or relatives, the people in his charge, etc.

bäNsîmbì (more than one person named **ˈNsîmbì**; **ˈNsîmbì** and his associates)
bàkìtângé (my father and his brothers, who are culturally classified as "fathers"; my father and his usual associates)
bämmângé (my mother and her sisters, who are culturally classified as "mothers"; my mother and her usual associates)
bännámwändû (widows; a widow and her usual associates)

2.6.0. NOUN CLASS 3.

2.6.1. *Number:* Predominantly Singular, with correlative Plurals in Cl. 4; but also Neutral in a few instances.

2.6.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**o-**/.
BP: /**mu-** ~ **mw-** ~ **m-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**m-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowel /**u**/. Only one example has been noted:

m.ûngû	(sp. of vegetable marrow)	pl.	**my.ûngû**

(2) The allomorph /**mw-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowels /**i, e, a, o**/.

mw.îkó	(plaster; trowel)	pl.	**m.îkó**
mw.êzí	(moon, month)		**my.êzí**
mw.ẽngé	(beer)		**my.ẽngé**
mw.âká	(year)		**my.âká**
mw.ǒyó	(soul, spirit)		**my.ǒyó**
mw.ǒlèsó	(show, exhibition)		**my.ǒlèsó**

(3) The allomorph /**mu-**/ occurs with all other types of stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC.[6]

mùtî	(tree, shrub)	pl.	**mìtî**
mùtwê	(head)		**mìtwê**
mùmwá	(lip, beak)		**mìmwá**
mûddò	(grass, weeds, turf)		**mîddò**
mùggá	(river, swamp)		**mîggá**
mûggó	(stick)		**mîggó**
mûnnyó ≃ mûnnyú	(salt)		—
mùbílí	(body—living)		**mìbílí**
mùlíló	(fire)		**mìlíló**
mùsòtâ	(snake)		**mìsòtâ**
mùzílá	(hail)		—
mùsényù	(sand)		—
mùyááyû	(wildcat)		**mìyááyû**
mùtímà	(heart)		**mìtímà**
mùpéèlá	(guava tree)		**mìpéèlá**
mùwáfù	(incense tree)		**mìwáfù**
mùtúbá	(bark-cloth tree)		**mìtúbá**
mùdúmú	(pitcher, jug)		**mìdúmú**
mùlímú	(work)		**mìlímú**
mùbínìkíló	(funnel)		**mìbínìkíló**

2.6.3. *Significance:* Miscellaneous, impersonal, including many names of trees and plants, anatomical terms, names of animals, tools, utensils and other artifacts, natural phenomena, abstract concepts, etc.

2.7.0. NOUN CLASS 4.

2.7.1. *Number:* Plural, with correlative Singulars in Cl. 3.

2.7.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**e-**/.
BP: /**mi-** ~ **my-** ~ **m-**/.

[6] An allomorph /***muu-**/, represented orthographically by /**mu-**/, would be expected to occur with stems commencing in NC. No examples have been noted.

(1) The allomorph /**m-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowel /**i**/. Only one example has been noted.

m.íìkó	(plasters; trowels)	cf. Cl. 3 **mw.îkô**

(2) The allomorph /**my-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowels /**e, a, o, u**/.

my.êzí	(months)	cf. Cl. 3 **mw.êzí**
my.âká	(years)	**mw.âká**
my.ǒyó	(souls, spirits)	**mw.ǒyó**
my.ûngû	(vegetable marrows)	**m.ûngû**

(3) The allomorph /**mi-**/ occurs with all other types of stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC.[7] For examples see 2.6.2 (3).

2.7.3. *Significance:* As for corresponding singulars in Cl. 3. See 2.6.3.

2.8.0. NOUN CLASS 5.

2.8.1. *Number:* Predominantly Singular, with correlative Plurals in Cl. 6, and, in the case of most augmentatives, Cl 22; but also Neutral in a few instances.

2.8.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**e-**/.
BP: /**#- ~ li- ~ ly- ∞ lii-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**lii-**/ has been noted only with the stem /**-so**/.

líì.só	(eye)	pl.	**máà.só**

(2) The allomorph /**ly-**/ occurs with vowel-commencing stems.

ly.ênvû	(ripe banana)	pl.	**m.ênvû**
ly.âtó	(canoe, boat)		**m.áàtó**
ly.ândá	(ember, burning coal)		**m.ândá**

(3) The allomorph /**li-**/ occurs with stems commencing in CC.

lî.ggwâ	(thorn)	pl.	**mâ.ggwâ**
lî.nnyá	(name)		**mâ.nnyá**
lî.nnyó	(tooth, fang)		**mâ.nnyó**

(4) The allomorph /**#-**/ occurs with all other stems, i.e. those commencing in C, which is geminated to CC. See 1.5.2.

'ggî	(egg)	pl.	**màgî**
'ggyê	(army)		**màgyê**
'bbwá	(sore, ulcer, wound)		**màbwá**
'ttú	(small package, parcel)		**màtú**
'vvû	(ash)		—
'bbálà	(spot, stain, colour)		**màbálà**
'ccúpà	(bottle)		**màcúpà**
'ffúmù	(spear, lance)		**màfúmù**
'ggúlú	(sky, heavens)		—
'jjùbâ ≃ 'jjìbâ	(dove)		**màyùbâ**
'kkúbò	(road, path, way)		**màkúbò**
'ttámà	(cheek)		**màtámà**
'ttábì	(branch of a tree)		**màtábì**
'jjĭnjá	(stone)		**màyĭnjá**
'ttóóké	(cooking banana)		**màtóóké**

[7] An allomorph /***mii-**/, represented orthographically by /**mi-**/, would be expected to occur with stems commencing in NC. No examples have been noted.

'bbéèlé	(breast of a woman)	pl.	**màbéèlé**
'ffűmbé	(civet cat)		**màfűmbé**
'zzíkè	(chimpanzee)		**màzíkè**
'ssúbì	(grass)		—
'ddãngá	(lily, canna)		**màlãngá**

N.B.—/**'ccúpá**/ usually takes the concordial agreements of Cl. 9 ↔ 10.

2.8.3. *Significance:* Miscellaneous, mainly impersonal, and including anatomical terms, names of plants, natural phenomena, animals, tools, utensils and other artifacts, abstract concepts, etc.

2.8.4. Nouns transferred into Cl. 5 from other classes, by substitution of prefix, are augmentative in significance, frequently with an ameliorative but sometimes with a pejorative implication, according to context. Such nouns usually have their plurals in Cl. 22 /**ga-**/, often with alternatives in Cl. 6 /**ma-**/.

'ssâjjá (big, hefty or fat man)
pl. **gàsâjjá** ≃ **màsâjjá**
cf. **mùsâjjá** (man), Cl. 1

'kkázì (big, hefty or fat woman)
pl. **gàkázì** ≃ **màkázì**
cf. **mùkázì** (woman), Cl. 1

'ddẽnzí (big, hefty or fat boy, fine strapping lad)
pl. **gàlẽnzí**
cf. **mùlẽnzí** (boy), Cl. 1

'ggwàlâ (big, hefty or fat girl, fine strapping lass)
pl. **gàwàlâ**
cf. **mùwàlâ** (girl), Cl. 1

'ttî (huge big tree)
pl. **gàtî** ≃ **màtî**
cf. **mùtî** (tree), Cl. 3

'ggwáfù (huge incense tree)
pl. **gàwáfù** ≃ **màwáfù**
cf. **mùwáfù** (incense tree), Cl. 3

'jjẽmbê (huge mango tree or fruit)
pl. **gàyẽmbê** ≃ **màyẽmbê**
cf. **mùyẽmbê** (mango tree or fruit), Cl. 3

'ttâ (great big gourd)
pl. **gàtâ** ≃ **màtâ**
cf. **kìtâ** (calabash, gourd for beer), Cl. 7

'bbwâ (huge big dog)
pl. **màbwâ** ≃ **gàbwâ**
cf. **'mbwâ** (dog), Cl. 9

'bbúzì (great big goat)
pl. **màbúzì** ≃ **gàbúzì**
cf. **'mbúzì** (goat), Cl. 9

'ggẽndó (very long journey)
pl. **gàgẽndó** ≃ **màgẽndó**
cf. **lùgẽndó** (journey), Cl. 11

lĩmmõndé (huge sweet potato)
pl. **gãmmõndé** ≃ **mãmmõndé**
cf. **mũmmõndé** (sweet potato), Cl. 3

2.9.0. NOUN CLASS 6.

2.9.1. *Number:* Predominantly Plural, with correlative Singulars in Cl. 5, 9 and 15; but also Neutral in a number of instances.

2.9.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**a-**/.
BP: /**ma-** ~ **m-** ∞ **maa-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**maa-**/ has been noted only with the stem /**-so**/.

máà.só	(eyes)	cf. Cl. 5	**líì.só**

(2) The allomorph /**m-**/ occurs with vowel-commencing stems.

m.ɛ̃nvû	(ripe bananas)	cf. Cl. 5	**ly.ɛ̃nvû**
m.áàtó	(canoes, boats)		**ly.âtó**
m.ãndá	(embers)		**ly.ãndá**

(3) The allomorph /**ma-**/ occurs with all other stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC. For examples see 2.8.2 (4), 2.8.4, 2.12.2 and 2.18.2 (3).

2.9.3. *Significance:* When plural, as for correlative singulars in Cl. 5, 9 and 15 (see 2.8.3, 2.12.3 and 2.18.3).

2.9.4. Cl. 6 also contains a number of Neutral nouns, mainly names of liquid and semi-liquid substances, and abstract concepts.

màtá	(milk)
mâ.zzí	(water)
màfútà	(oil, butter)
màlwâ	(millet beer)
màsílà	(pus)
m.áànyí	(strength)
màzímá	(truth)
màkúlú	(meaning)
mã.ddú	(craving, gluttony, greed)
màwúlílé	(news)
màgɛ̃ndá	(outward journey)
mâ.ddá	(return journey)
màláàló	(tomb, grave)
màkűngúlá	(harvest)
màsãŋŋãnzílá	(cross-roads)

2.10.0. NOUN CLASS 7.

2.10.1. *Number:* Predominantly Singular, with correlative Plurals in Cl. 8; but also Neutral in a few instances.

2.10.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**e-**/.
BP: /**ki-** ~ **kii-** ~ **ky-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**ky-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowels /**e, a, o, u**/.[8]

ky.ẽnyí	(forehead)	pl.	**by.ẽnyí**
ky.êjó	(insolence)		—
ky.ãló	(village, hamlet)		**by.ãló**
ky.ãmbáló	(garment)		**by.ãmbáló**
ky.õyâ	(feather, plume)		**by.õyâ**
ky.ôtó	(fireplace, hearth)		**by.ôtó**
ky.ûmá	(metal, machine)		**by.ûmá**

(2) The allomorph /**kii-**/, represented orthographically by /**ki-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC.

kĩntú	(thing)	pl.	**bĩntú**

(3) The allomorph /**ki-**/ occurs with all other types of stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC.

kìbê	(jackal)	pl.	**bìbê**
kìlê	(cloud)		**bìlê**
kìsá	(kindness, mercy)		—
kìtâ	(gourd, calabash, for beer)		**bìtâ**
kĩkkó	(valley, depression)		**bĩkkó**
kĩnnyâ	(hole in the ground)		**bĩnnyâ**
kìbúgà	(town, city, capital)		**bìbúgà**
kìfúbà	(chest, breast),		**bìfúbà**
kìmúlí	(flower)		**bìmúlí**
kìnyílá	(fruit bat)		**bìnyílá**
kìbéèlé	(udder)		**bìbéèlé**
kìjíkó	(spoon)		**bìjíkó**
kìtóóké	(banana tree)		**bìtóóké**
kìsíkìzá	(darkness)		—
kìkâjjó	(sugar cane)		**bìkâjjó**
kìwúúgúlû	(owl)		**bìwúúgúlû**
kìwõjjólò	(butterfly, moth)		**bìwõjjólò**
kìgèlê	(foot, paw, footprint)		**bìgèlê**
kìkwâsó	(clasp, safety pin)		**bìkwâsó**
kìbíínâ	(society, group)		**bìbíínâ**

2.10.3. *Significance:* Miscellaneous, mainly impersonal, and including anatomical terms, names of animals, plants, natural phenomena, tools, utensils and other artifacts, and abstract concepts.

2.10.4. Nouns transferred into Cl. 7 from other classes, by substitution of prefix, manifest a range of semantic implications, including augmentative (big, fat), pejorative (clumsy, dirty, shabby, disreputable, ill-mannered), diminutive (young), and ameliorative (nice, attractive). Several of these connotations may occur together, the particular implication or set of implications being determined by context. Some of these nouns also indicate the characteristic features of the person or thing denoted by the corresponding primary nouns.

[8] An allomorph /***k-**/ would be expected to occur with stems commencing in the vowel /**i**/. No examples have been noted.

kìsâjjá		(manliness; clumsy, disreputable fellow)
	pl.	**bìsâjjá**, cf. **mùsâjjá** (man), Cl. 1
kìkázì		(womanliness; clumsy, dirty, shabby woman)
	pl.	**bìkázì**, cf. **mùkázì** (woman), Cl. 1
kìlẽnzí		(nice lad; fat, podgy youth; loutish, shabby, dirty urchin)
	pl.	**bìlẽnzí**, cf. **mùlẽnzí** (boy), Cl. 1
kìwàlâ		(nice girl; dirty, scruffy girl)
	pl.	**bìwàlâ**, cf. **mùwàlâ** (girl), Cl. 1
kìbúzì		(nice fat young goat)
	pl.	**bìbúzì**, cf. **ˋmbúzì** (goat), Cl. 9
kìlígá		(nice fat sheep)
	pl.	**bìlígá**, cf. **ˋndígá** (sheep), Cl. 9
kìté		(nice fat young cow)
	pl.	**bìté**, cf. **ˋnté** (cow), Cl. 9

2.11.0. NOUN CLASS 8.

2.11.1. *Number:* Predominantly Plural, with correlative Singulars in Cl. 7 and 1a; but also Neutral in a few instances.

2.11.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: **/e-/.**
BP: **/bi- ~ bii- ~ by-/.**

(1) The allomorph **/by-/** occurs with stems commencing in the vowels **/e, a, o, u/.**[9]

by.ẽnyí	(foreheads)	cf. Cl. 7	**ky.ẽnyí**
by.ãlǒ	(hamlets)		**ky.ãlǒ**
by.ǒyâ	(feathers)		**ky.ǒyâ**
by.ûmá	(machines)		**ky.ûmá**

(2) The allomorph **/bii-/**, represented orthographically by **/bi-/**, occurs with stems commencing in NC.

bĩntú	(things)	cf. Cl. 7	**kĩntú**

(3) The allomorph **/bi-/** occurs with all other types of stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC. For examples see 2.10.2 (3) and 2.10.4.

2.11.3. *Significance:* As for correlative singulars in Cl. 7 and 1a. Cl. 8 also contains a few neutral nouns.

bìtóómí	(mud, mire)
bìsésémyê	(vomit)

2.11.4. The Cl. 8 prefix **/bi-/**, without IV, occurs in the plurals of a few nouns of Cl. 1a, see 2.4.3 (6). In these forms the Cl. 8 prefix **/bi-/** is superimposed on that of Cl. 1a **/Ø-/.**

2.12.0. NOUN CLASS 9.

2.12.1. *Number:* Predominantly Singular, with correlative Plurals in Cl. 10, and alternatively in some instances, Cl. 6; but also Neutral in some cases.

[9] An allomorph **/*b-/** would be expected to occur with stems commencing in the vowel **/ɪ/**. No examples have been noted.

2.12.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**e-**/.
BP: /**N-** = [**m-** ∼ **ɱ-** ∼ **n-** ∼ **ñ-** ∼ **ŋ-**] ∞ **#-** ∞ **Ø-**/.

(1) Most of the nouns with prefix /**#-**/ and /**Ø-**/ are obvious adoptives from Swahili and English. The occurrence of Initial Vowels with these nouns is inconsistent. With some it occurs regularly, with some not at all, with some alternatively according to dialect and idiolect. In the examples below, nouns with regular IV are not marked; those which do not take it at all are marked by /*/; those which take it alternatively are marked by /**/.

(2) The allomorph /**Ø-**/ occurs in a small number of nouns, e.g.

		pl.
bẽndélà**	(flag)	**bẽndélà**** (10)
bùlãngíti*	(blanket)	**bùlãngíti*** (10)
		≃ **zìbùlãngíti** (10)
kábàdá*	(cupboard)	**kábàdá*** (10)
	≃ **zìkábàdá** (10)	≃ **màkábàdá** (6)
lãddù	(lightning)	—
lãngì**	(colour)	**lãngì**** (10)
lòòlê*	(lorry)	**lòòlê** (10)
		≃ **zìlòòlê** (10)
màkânsí*	(scissors)	**màkânsí*** (10)
máyìló*	(mile)	**máyìló*** (10)
ŏfiisí*	(office)	**ŏfiisí*** (10)
		≃ **zìŏfiisí** (10)
sépúlĩngì*	(spring)	**sépúlĩngì*** (10)
		≃ **zìsépúlĩngì** (10)
wéémà	(tent)	**wéémà** (10)
		≃ **zìwéémà** (10)
wííkì*	(week)	**wííkì*** (10)
wúúmà	(fork)	**wúúmà** (10)
wúzì	(thread)	**wúzì** (10)
záábù*	(gold)	—

(3) The allomorph /**#-**/, which involves gemination of the initial consonant of the stem, occurs in a restricted number of nouns, e.g.

		pl.
ʻbbáàsí**	(bus)	**ʻbbáàsí**** (10)
		≃ **zĩbbáàsí** (10)
ʻbbàlúwà	(letter)	**ʻbbàlúwà** (10)
		≃ **màbálúwà** (6)
ʻccúpà	(bottle)	**ʻccúpà** (10)
ʻddúúkâ	(shop, store)	**màdúúkâ** (6)
		≃ **ʻddúúkâ** (10)
ʻffílĩmbí	(whistle)	**ʻffílĩmbí** (10)
ʻggáàlí	(vehicle)	**ʻggáàlí** (10)
		≃ **màgáàlí** (6)
ʻggálàgí**	(garage)	**màgálàgí** (6)
		≃ **ʻggálàgí**** (10)
ʻggŏmbólólá	(sub-district)	**ʻggŏmbólólá** (10)
≃ **zĩggŏmbólólá** (10)		≃ **màgŏmbólólá** (6)
ʻjjãmbíyà	(matchet)	**ʻjjãmbíyà** (10)
ʻkkàláàmú	(pencil, pen)	**ʻkkàláàmú** (10)
		≃ **màkálàámú** (6)

ˈkkànísà	(church)	pl.	**ˈkkànísà** (10)
		≃	**màkánísà** (6)
ˈkkãnzù	(man's gown)		**ˈkkãnzù** (10)
		≃	**màkãnzù** (6)
ˈkkápà*	(cat)		**ˈkkápà*** (10)
		≃	**bũkkápà*** (14)
ˈmmótòká**	(motorcar)		**ˈmmótòká**** (10)
		≃	**zĩmmótòká** (10)
ˈppátà	(hinge)		**ˈppátà** (10)
ˈssáàwá	(clock, watch, time)		**ˈssáàwá** (10)
ˈssãffáàlí	(safari)		**ˈssãffáàlí** (10)
	≃ **zĩssãffáàlí** (10)	≃	**màsãffáàlí** (6)
ˈssãndúùkó	(box, crate)		**ˈssãndúùkó** (10)
		≃	**màsãndúùkó** (6)
ˈssìtóòwá**	(store)		**màsítóòwá** (6)
		≃	**ˈssìtóòwá**** (10)
ˈssòwáàní	(plate)		**ˈssòwáàní** (10)
		≃	**màsówáàní** (6)
ˈttáwùló	(towel)		**ˈttáwùló** (10)
		≃	**màtáwùló** (6)

(4) Examples of nouns with labial nasal prefixes [**m-**] and [**ɱ-**], orthographically /**m-**/ and /**n-**/.

ˈmbàláàsí	(horse)	pl.	**ˈmbàláàsí**
ˈmbâzzí	(axe, adze)		**ˈmbâzzí**
ˈmbógá	(cabbage)		**ˈmbógá**
ˈmbògô	(buffalo)		**ˈmbògô**
ˈmbúzì	(goat)		**ˈmbúzì**
ˈmbéélâ	(state, condition)		—
ˈmbwâ	(dog)		**ˈmbwâ**
ˈmpéwò	(wind, cold)		**ˈmpéwò**
ˈmpílímá	(dagger)		**ˈmpílímá**
ˈmpísà	(custom, habit)		**ˈmpísà**
ˈmpísì	(hyena)		**ˈmpísì**
ˈmpísô	(needle)		**ˈmpísô**
ˈmpólógómá	(lion)		**ˈmpólógómá**
ˈmpûngú	(eagle)		**ˈmpûngú**
ˈɱmãmbyà	(dawn)		—
ˈɱméézà	(table)		**ˈɱméézà**
ˈɱmélè	(food)		—
ˈɱmésè	(rat)		**ˈɱmésè**
ˈɱmîndí	(tobacco pipe)		**ˈɱmîndí**
ˈɱmûndú	(gun, rifle)		**ˈɱmûndú**
ˈɱmúnyèènyé	(star)		**ˈɱmúnyèènyé**
ˈnfúdù	(tortoise)		**ˈnfúdù**
ˈnfúúfú	(dust)		—
ˈnvùbû	(hippopotamus)		**ˈnvùbû**
ˈnvűnzâ	(jigger flea)		**ˈnvűnzâ**

(5) Examples of nouns with alveolar nasal prefix /**n-**/.

ˈntáánâ	(grave)	pl.	**ˈntáánâ**
ˈntàmû	(clay pot)		**ˈntàmû**
ˈnté	(head of cattle)		**ˈnté**
ˈntébè	(chair, stool)		**ˈntébè**
ˈntűggá	(giraffe)		**ˈntűggá**
ˈntúlégé	(zebra)		**ˈntúlégé**
ˈndábílwãmû	(mirror)		**ˈndábílwãmû**
ˈndâggú	(sp. of yam)		**ˈndâggú**
ˈndègéyà	(weaver bird)		**ˈndègéyà**
ˈndígá	(sheep)		**ˈndígá**
ˈndógòyí	(donkey)		**ˈndógòyí**
ˈndwâddé	(disease)		**ˈndwâddé**
ˈnnáánârsí	(pine-apple)		**ˈnnáánânsí**
ˈnnákù	(trouble)		**ˈnnákù**
ˈnnãngá	(harp, piano, organ)		**ˈnnãngá**
ˈnnímíló	(cultivated field)		**ˈnnímíló**
ˈnnóní	(chalk)		**ˈnnóní**
ˈnnúkùtá	(symbol, letter)		**ˈnnúkùtá**
ˈnsí	(land, country, world)		**ˈnsí**
ˈnsígò	(seed; kidney)		**ˈnsígò**
ˈnsìlî	(mosquito)		**ˈnsìlî**
ˈnsîmbì	(cowrie shell; money)		**ˈnsîmbì**
ˈnsó	(knee-cap)		**ˈnsó**
ˈnsówélá	(fly)		**ˈnsówélá**
ˈnzígé	(locust)		**ˈnzígé**
ˈnzítùlá	(method or action of making pattern in bark-cloth)		—
ˈnzítùzó	(patterning mallet)		**ˈnzítùzó**

(6) Examples of nouns with palatal nasal prefix [**ñ-**], orthographically /**n-**/.

ˈnjálá	(hunger)	pl.	—
ˈnjógélá	(speech, way of talking)		—
ˈnjóvú	(elephant)		**ˈnjóvú**
ˈnjû	(house)		**ˈnjû** (10)
		≃	**màyû** (6)
ˈnjúbà	(sun; yolk of egg)		**ˈnjúbà**
ˈnjúkì	(bee)		**ˈnjúkì**
ˈnnyámá	(meat)		**ˈnnyámá**
ˈnnyánà	(calf—animal)		**ˈnnyánà**
ˈnnyîndó	(nose)		**ˈnnyîndó**
ˈnnyôntá	(thirst)		—
ˈnnyónyí	(bird)		**ˈnnyónyí**
ˈnnyűmbà	(house)		**màyűmbà** (6)
		≃	**ˈnnyűmbà** (10)

(7) Examples of nouns with velar nasal prefix [ŋ-], orthographically /n-/ and /ŋ-/.

ˈnkímà	(monkey)	pl.	**ˈnkímà**
ˈnkófú	(guineafowl)		**ˈnkófú**
ˈnkókò	(chicken)		**ˈnkókò**
ˈnkúbà	(rain)		—
ˈnkúyó	(spinning top)		**ˈnkúyó**
ˈnkyâ	(morning)		—
ˈngábì	(bushbuck)		**ˈngábì**
ˈngábó	(shield)		**ˈngábó**
ˈngãttó	(shoe)		**ˈngãttó**
ˈngègê	(bream, *Tilapia* sp.)		**ˈngègê**
ˈngélí	(kind, sort, way)		**ˈngélí**
ˈngó	(leopard)		**ˈngó**
ˈŋŋáánó	(wheat)		**ˈŋŋáánó**
ˈŋŋááŋâ	(sp. of hornbill)		**ˈŋŋááŋâ**
ˈŋŋàmílà	(camel)		**ˈŋŋàmílà**
ˈŋŋó	(banana bud)		**ˈŋŋó**
ˈŋŋómá	(drum)		**ˈŋŋómá**
ˈŋŋõmbé	(horn, trumpet)		**ˈŋŋõmbé**

2.12.3. *Significance:* Miscellaneous impersonal, including most names of animals, anatomical terms, names of plants, natural phenomena, tools, utensils and other artifacts, abstract concepts, etc.

2.13.0. NOUN CLASS 10.

2.13.1. *Number:* Predominantly Plural, with correlative Singulars in Cl. 9, 11 and 1a; but also Neutral in a few instances.

2.13.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**e-**/.
BP: /**N-** = [**m-** ~ **ɱ-** ~ **n-** ~ **ñ-** ~ **ŋ-**] ∞ **#-** ∞ **Ø-** ~ **z-** ∞ **zi-**/.

(1) Except for the additional allomorphs /**z-** ∞ **zi-**/, the prefix of Cl. 10 is in all respects identical with that of Cl. 9, and the two classes of nouns (hence, singulars and correlative plurals) are distinguished only by their concordial agreements. The distribution of the Cl. 10 prefixal allomorphs (except /**z-** ∞ **zi-**/) has been exemplified in 2.12.2, insofar as they are identical with those of Cl. 9. In the following sections the Cl. 10 prefixal allomorphs are exemplified mainly in correlative plurals of Cl. 11 nouns, thus illustrating more clearly the morphophonemic changes which occur when /**N-**/ is prefixed to stems (see also 1.5.1).

(2) The allomorph /**zi-**/ occurs only as a secondary prefix, superimposed in alternative plural formation from certain Cl. 9 nouns with prefixes /**#-**/ and /**Ø-**/. Note that since /**zi-**/ is superimposed, initial CC clusters remain unchanged; and since /**zi-**/ is a secondary prefix, it does not take the Initial Vowel (see 2.1.2).

zìbùlãngíti	(blankets)
zìkábàdá	(cupboards)
zìlòòlê	(lorries, trucks)
zìõfìisí	(offices)
zìsépúlĩngì	(springs)

zìwéémà	(tents)
zĭbbáàsí	(buses)
zĭggőmbólólá	(sub-districts)
zĭmmótòká	(motorcars)
zĭssăffáàlí	(safaris)

(3) The allomorph /**z-**/ has been noted only in two forms:

z.áàná		(tall slender children) (*Note* 1)
	cf.	**lw.âná**, Cl. 11
z.íisó		(long looks) (*Note* 2)
	cf.	**lúù.só**, Cl. 11

Notes: 1. Structurally, one would expect the plural of /**lw.âná**/ to be /**ˈnnyánà**/. The latter occurs in Cl. 9↔10, meaning "calf/calves".

2. Our informants prefer /**ˈnzísò**/. The stem /**-so**/ (eye) thus has allomorphs /**-so** ∞ **-ziso** ≃ **-iiso**/. Alternatively one might segment /**zíisó**/ as /**zii-**/ + /**-so**/.

(4) The allomorph /**Ø-**/ occurs in a small number of nouns, mainly adoptives, many of which do not take the IV, or do so alternatively. See also 2.12.2 (2).

bẽndélà**	(flags)
bùlãngíti*	(blankets)
kábàdâ*	(cupboards)
lãngì**	(colours)
lòòlê*	(lorries, trucks)

(5) The allomorph /**#-**/ occurs in a restricted number of nouns, mainly adoptives, many of which do not take the IV, or do so alternatively. See also 2.12.2 (3).

ˈbbáàsí**	(buses)
ˈbbàlúwà	(letters)
ˈccúpà	(bottles)
ˈddúúkâ	(shops, stores)
ˈffílĭmbí	(whistles)
ˈggáàlí	(vehicles)
ˈggálàgí**	(garages)
ˈggőmbólólá	(sub-districts)

(6) The allomorph /**m-**/ occurs with stems commencing in /**p**, **b**, **w**, **m**/, of which /**w**/ is replaced morphophonemically by /**p**/.

ˈmpápúlá	(pieces of paper)	cf. Cl. 11	**lùpápúlá**
ˈmbılíízí	(ribs)		**lùbílíízí**
ˈmbááwô	(boards, planks)		**lùbááwô**
ˈmpâ	(whistling calls)		**lùwâ**
ˈmpãndè	(measures of cloth)		**lùwãndè**
ˈmmúlí	(reeds)		**lùmúlí**

(7) The allomorph [ŋ-], orthographically /**n-**/, occurs with stems commencing in /**f**, **v**/.

ˈnfúmô	(legends, traditions)	cf. Cl. 11	**lùfúmô**
ˈnvíilí	(hairs on the head)		**lùvíilí**

(8) The allomorph /**n-**/ occurs with stems commencing in /**t**, **d**, **l**, **n**, **s**, **z**/, of which /**l**/ is morphophonemically replaced by /**n**/ when preceding N or NC, otherwise by /**d**/. See 1.5.1.

ˈntãmbí	(lamp wicks)	cf. Cl. 11	**lùtãmbí**
ˈntálò	(wars, battles)		**lùtálò**
ˈndélé	(thongs)		**lùlélé**
ˈndágálá	(green banana leaves)		**lùlágálá**
ˈnnímì	(tongues)		**lùlímì**
ˈnnẽnzí	(tall slender boys)		**lùlẽnzí**
ˈnnwé	(index fingers)		**lùnwé**
ˈnnákù	(days)		**lùnákù**
ˈn.néésìbyó	(girdles, sashes) (*Note* 1)		**lw.ẽsìbyó**
ˈnsózì	(hills, mountains)		**lùsózì**
ˈnsényì	(plains, prairies)		**lùsényì**
ˈn.zígí	(doors) (*Note* 2)		**lũ.ggí**
ˈn.zígyó	(potsherds) (*Note* 2)		**lũ.ggyó**
ˈn.zízì	(wells, springs) (*Note* 2)		**lû.zzí**
ˈn.zíbôbbó	(worn-out baskets) (*Note* 2)		**lũ.bbôbbó**

Notes: 1. **/lw.ẽsìbyó ↔ ˈn.néésìbyó/** incorporate the reflexive prefix **/-ee- ~ -nee-/**. See 6.3.4.

2. Stems commencing in CC (other than NN) have allomorphs commencing in **/ziC/**. Hence **/-ggi ~ -zigi/**, **/-ggyo ~ -zigyo/**, **/-zzi ~ -zizi/**, **/-bbobbo ~ -zibobbo/**. See 1.5.1 and 6.2.5.

(9) The allomorph [**ñ-**], orthographically **/n-/**, occurs with stems commencing in **/c, j, y, ny/**, of which **/y/** is morphophonemically replaced by **/ny/** when preceding N or NC, otherwise by **/j/**. See 1.5.1.

ˈnjégélé	(chains)	cf. Cl. 11	**lùjégélé**
ˈnjálà	(nails, claws) (*Note* 1)		**lw.âlá**
ˈnjéyó	(brooms, brushes) (*Note* 1)		**lw.ẽyó**
ˈnjòyâ	(long feathers) (*Note* 1)		**lw.ŏyâ**
ˈnjúyì	(sides, directions) (*Note* 1)		**l.úúyì**
ˈnnyẽndó	(ladles, scoops) (*Note* 1)		**lw.ẽndó**
ˈnnyîmbá	(songs)		**lùyîmbá**
ˈnnyìnyâ	(trenches, furrows) (*Note* 2)		**lũ.nnyâ**
ˈnnyínyó	(drying racks) (*Note* 2)		**lũ.nnyó**
ˈnnyîmbê	(diseases, death rites) (*Note* 2)		**lũ.mbê**
ˈnnyágó	(spear or arrow shafts)		**lùnyágó**
ˈnnyílílí	(rows, lines)		**lùnyílílí**
ˈnnyélé	(bracelets, anklets)		**lùnyélé**

Notes: 1. Stems commencing in VV have allomorphs commencing in **/yV/**. Hence **/-aala ~ -yala/**, **/-eeyo ~ -yeyo/**, **/-ooya ~ -yoya/**, **/-uuyi ~ -yuyi/**, **/-endo ~ -yendo/**. See 1.5.1 and 6.2.6.

2. Stems commencing in NN and NC have allomorphs commencing in **/yiN/** and **/yiNC/** respectively. Hence **/-nnya ~ -yinya/**, **/-nnyo ~ -yinyo/**, **/-mbe ~ -yimbe/**. See 1.5.1 and 6.2.5.

(10) The allomorph [**ŋ-**], orthographically **/n-/** or **/ŋ-/**, occurs with stems commencing in **/k, g, ŋ/**, of which **/g/** is morphophonemically replaced by **/ŋ/** when preceding N or NC.

ˈnkû	(firewood)	cf. Cl. 11	**lùkû**
ˈnkátò	(stilletos, awls)		**lùkátò**
ˈngálò	(fingers)		**lùgálò**
ˈngúúdó	(streets, highways)		**lùgúúdó**
ˈŋŋẽndó	(journeys)		**lùgẽndó**
ˈŋŋãmbó	(rumours)		**lùgãmbó**

2.13.3. *Significance:* As for correlative singulars in Cl. 10, 11, 1a. Cl. 10 also contains a few neutral nouns.

ˈmpàkâ	(dispute, argument, competition)
ˈnsónyì	(shyness, shame)
ˈntúúyó	(perspiration, sweat)
ˈnvá	(relish)

2.14.0. NOUN CLASS 11.

2.14.1. *Number:* Predominantly Singular, with correlative Plurals in Cl. 10; but also Neutral in some instances.

2.14.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: **/o-/.**
BP: **/lu- ~ lw- ~ l- ∞ luu-/.**

(1) The allomorph **/luu-/**, represented orthographically by **/lu-/**, occurs with stems commencing in NC. **/luu-/** also occurs with the stem **/-so/.**

lūmbê	(disease; death rites)	pl.	**ˈnnyīmbê**
lűNgélézà	(English language)		—
lűndélébù	(malicious gossip)		—
lúù.só	(long look)		**ˈn.zísò**

(2) The allomorph **/l-/** occurs with stems commencing in the vowel **/u/.** Only one example has been noted.

l.úúyì	(side, direction)	pl.	**ˈnjúyì**

(3) The allomorph **/lw-/** occurs with stems commencing in the vowels **/i, e, a, o/.**

lw.ēndó	(gourd scoop, ladle)	pl.	**ˈnnyēndó**
lw.ěyó	(broom, brush)		**ˈnjéyó**
lw.âlá	(nail, claw)		**ˈnjálà**
lw.ătíkâ	(crack, crevice)		**ˈnjátíkâ**

(4) The allomorph **/lu-/** occurs with all other stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC.

lùkû	(piece of firewood)	pl.	**ˈnkû**
lùnwé	(index finger)		**ˈnnwé**
lùbâ	(side of the face)		**ˈmbâ**
lùfú	(mist, fog)		—
lūggí	(door)		**ˈnzígí**
lûzzí	(well, spring)		**ˈnzízì**
lūnnyó	(drying rack)		**ˈnnyínyó**
lūggyâ	(courtyard)		**ˈmpyâ**[10]
lùgáló	(finger)		**ˈngáló**
lùlímì	(tongue; language)		**ˈnnímì**
lùgēndó	(journey)		**ˈŋŋēndó**
lùsózì	(hill, mountain)		**ˈnsózì**
lùkîndú	(wild date palm)		**ˈnkîndú**
lùkátò	(stiletto, awl)		**ˈnkátò**
lùmúlí	(reed)		**ˈmmúlí**
lùsényì	(plain, prairie)		**ˈnsényì**
lùjégélé	(chain)		**ˈnjégélé**
lùyîmbá	(song, hymn)		**ˈnnyîmbá**
lùgămbó	(rumour)		**ˈŋŋămbó**
lùbílì	(palace)		**ˈmbílì**

[10] The allomorphs of this stem are **/-ggya ~ -pya/**, ct. other CC-commencing stems with allomorphs in **/zlC/.**

2.14.3. *Significance:* Miscellaneous, mainly impersonal, and including anatomical terms, names of plants, natural phenomena, tools, utensils and other artifacts, abstract concepts, etc.

2.14.4. Secondary nouns in Cl. 11, i.e. those derived from nouns of other classes by substitution of prefix, fall into two groups:

(1) Names of languages and dialects, derived from ethnic designations in Cl. 1 ↔ 2.

lùGãndà (Ganda language)
cf. **mùGãndà** (Ganda national)
lűNgélézà (English language)
cf. **műNgélézà** (Englishman)
lùSwãyílì (Swahili language)
cf. **mùSwãyílì** (Swahili national)
lùWálábù (Arabic)
cf. **mùWálábù** (Arab)
lùNyóló (Nyoro language)
cf. **mùNyóló** (Nyoro national)

(2) Attenuative nouns, implying length and slenderness, sometimes with a pejorative connotation.

lùsô (slasher for cutting grass)	pl. **ˈnsô**
cf. **kìsô** (panga), Cl. 7	
lùtî (long thin stick, skewer)	**ˈntî**
cf. **mùtî** (tree), Cl. 3	
lùbwâ (miserable thin dog)	—
cf. **ˈmbwâ** (dog), Cl. 9	
lùté (miserable thin cow)	—
cf. **ˈnté** (cow), Cl. 9	
lûkká (wisp of smoke)	—
cf. **mûkká** (smoke), Cl. 3	
lw.âná (tall slender child)	**z.áàná**
cf. **mw.âna** (child), Cl. 1	
lw.ðyâ (long hair or feather)	**ˈnjòyâ**
cf. **ky.ðyâ** (feather), Cl. 7	
bw.ðyâ (hair, wool), Cl. 14	
lúù.só (long look)[11]	**ˈn.zísò**
cf. **líì.só** (eye), Cl. 5	
lùlẽnzí (tall slender boy)	**ˈnnẽnzí**
cf. **mùlẽnzí** (boy), Cl. 1	
lùwàlâ (tall slender girl)	**ˈmpàlâ**
cf. **mùwàlâ** (girl), Cl. 1	
lùkázì (tall slender woman)	**ˈnkázì**
cf. **mùkázì** (woman), Cl. 1	
lùsâjjá (tall slender man)	**ˈnsâjjá**
cf. **mùsâjjá** (man), Cl. 1	

2.15.0. NOUN CLASS 12.

2.15.1. *Number:* Predominantly Singular, with correlative Plurals in Cl. 14; but also Neutral in some instances.

[11] Of affection, disapproval, or curiosity, according to context.

2.15.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**a-**/.
BP: /**ka-** ~ **kaa-** ~ **k-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**k-**/ occurs with vowel-commencing stems.

k.éédìimó	(riot)	pl.	**bw.ɛ̃dìimó**
k.ãmbé	(curved Ganda knife)		**bw.ãmbé**
k.óòtó	(little hearth)		**bw.óòtó**
k.úùmá	(small metal object)		**b.úùmá**

(2) The allomorph /**kaa-**/, represented orthographically by /**ka-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC. /**kaa-**/ also occurs with the stem /**-so**/.

kãntú	(small thing, trifle)	pl.	**bũntú**
káà.só	(little eye)		**búù.só**

(3) The allomorph /**ka-**/ occurs with all other types of stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC.

kàmwá	(mouth) (*Note* 1)	pl.	**bùmwá**
kàbî	(harm, danger)		—
kãccá	(importunity)		—
kàkúlwé	(tadpole)		**bùkúlwé**
kàsólyâ	(roof)		**bùsólyâ**
kàlévú	(chin) (*Note* 2)		**bùlévú**
kàgèlê	(toe) (*Note* 3)		**bùgèlê**
kàtíkó	(mushroom)		**bùtíkó**
kàtũndá	*(grenadilla)*		***bùtũndá***
kàsáàlé	(arrow)		**bùsáàlé**
kàwóòwó	(perfume)		**bùwóòwó**
kàtááyì	(swallow)		**bùtááyì**
kàtáágó	(spleen)		**bùtáágó**
kàbɛ̃njé	(accident, misfortune)		**bùbɛ̃njé**
kàzóòlé	(vice, viciousness)		**bùzóòlé**
kàlóólô	(chicken louse)		**bùlóólô**
kàtĩmbà	(net)		**bùtĩmbà**
kàgóógwâ	(sisal fibre) (*Note* 4)		**bùgóógwâ**
kàtũngùlú	(onion)		**bùtũngùlú**
kàwũngèèzí	(evening)		**bùwũngèèzí**

Notes: 1. Cf. **mùmwâ** (lip), Cl. 3.
2. Cf. **kilévú** (beard), Cl. 7.
3. Cf. **kìgèlê** (foot), Cl. 7.
4. Cf. **kìgóógwâ** (sisal plant, *Agave* sp.), Cl. 7.

2.15.3. *Significance:* Primary nouns in Cl. 12 are relatively few in number, and even some of those listed above may be derivative. They are miscellaneous in significance. The majority of nouns in Cl. 12 are secondary, being transferred from other classes by substitution of prefix, and have a diminutive connotation. Diminutive nouns can be relatively freely derived from primary nouns of Cl. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, by substituting the Cl. 12 prefix. Such diminutives may sometimes, according to context, have a pejorative implication.

kàlĕnzí (little boy)	pl. **bùlĕnzí**
cf. **mùlĕnzí** (boy), Cl. 1	
kàsâjjá (little man)	**bùsâjjá**
cf. **mùsâjjá** (man), Cl. 1	
kàtî (small tree)	**bùtî**
cf. **mùtî** (tree), Cl. 3	
kàsòtâ (small snake)	**bùsòtâ**
cf. **mùsòtâ** (snake), Cl. 3	
kàyĭnjá (pebble, small stone)	**bùyĭnjá**
cf. **ˋjjĭnjá** (stone), Cl. 5	
kàyùbâ (small or young dove)	**bùyùbâ**
cf. **ˋjjùbâ** (dove), Cl. 5	
kàtúlì (small hole)	**bùtúlì**
cf. **kìtúlì** (hole), Cl. 7	
kàsô (knife)	**bùsô**
cf. **kìsô** (panga), Cl. 7	
kĭntú (small thing, trifle)	**bĭntú**
cf. **kĭntú** (thing), Cl. 7	
kàbwâ (puppy, small dog)	**bùbwâ**
cf. **ˋmbwâ** (dog), Cl. 9	
kàlígá (lamb, small sheep)	**bùlígá**
cf. **ˋndígá** (sheep), Cl. 9	
kàyŭmbà (small house)	**bùyŭmbà**
cf. **ˋnnyŭmbà** (house), Cl. 9	
kàgálǒ (small finger)	**bùgálǒ**
cf. **lùgálǒ** (finger), Cl. 11	
kàsózì (small hill)	**bùsózì**
cf. **lùsózì** (hill), Cl. 11	
k.áànâ (infant, baby)	**bw.ânâ**
cf. **mw.ânâ** (child), Cl. 1	
k.èèyó (small broom)	**bw.ĕyó**
cf. **lw.ĕyó** (broom), Cl. 11	
k.ĕndó (small scoop)	**bw.ĕndó**
cf. **lw.ĕndó** (scoop, ladle), Cl. 11	
k.áàtó (small canoe)	**bw.âtó**
cf. **ly.âtó** (canoe), Cl. 5	
k.óòtó (small hearth)	**bw.ôtó**
cf. **ky.ôtó** (hearth), Cl. 7	
k.úùmá (small metal object)	**b.úùmá**
cf. **ky.ûmá** (metal), Cl. 7	
káà.só (little eye)	**búù.só**
cf. **lĭl.só** (eye), Cl. 5	
kàgî (little egg)	**bùgî**
cf. **ˋggî** (egg), Cl. 5	
kânnyó (little tooth)	**bûnnyó**
cf. **lĭnnyó** (tooth), Cl. 5	
kĭggá (rivulet)	**bĭggá**
cf. **mŭggá** (river), Cl. 3	

2.16.0. NOUN CLASS 14.

2.16.1. *Number:* Plural, with correlative Singulars in Cl. 12; and Neutral.

2.16.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**o-**/.
BP: /**bu-** ~ **bw-** ~ **b-** ∞ **buu-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**buu-**/, represented orthographically by /**bu-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC. /**buu-**/ also occurs with the stem /**-so**/.

bũntú	(small things, trifles) cf. Cl. 12	**kãntú**
bũmpì	(shortness)	—
bũNgéléżà	(England)	—
búù.só	(little eyes)	**káà.só**

(2) The allomorph /**b-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowel /**u**/.

b.úùgí	(maize-meal porridge) cf. Cl. 12	**k.úùgí**
b.úùmá	(small metal objects)	**k.úùmá**

(3) The allomorph /**bw-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowels /**i, e, a, o**/.

bw.ẽdiimó	(riots) cf. Cl. 12	**k.éédiimó**
bw.ãmbé	(curved knives)	**k.ãmbé**
bw.õgì	(sharpness)	—

(4) The allomorph /**bu-**/ occurs with all other stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC. For examples see 2.15.2 (3).

2.16.3. *Significance:* When plural, as for correlative singulars in Cl. 12 and 1a. Cl. 14 also contains a large number of neutral nouns, which fall into five semantic groups.

(1) Abstract nouns, many of which are derived from nouns of other classes by substitution of prefix, and from adjectival stems:

bùsâjjá (manhood, manliness)	cf. **mùsâjjá** (man), Cl. 1
bùkázì (womanhood)	**mùkázì** (woman), Cl. 1
bw.ãmì (chieftainship)	**mw.ãmì** (chief), Cl. 1
bùsíkâ (inheritance)	**mùsíkâ** (heir), Cl. 1
bùgâggá (wealth)	**mùgâggá** (rich person), Cl. 1
bùgàzî (width, breadth)	Adj. **-gàzî** (wide, broad)
bùwãnvù (length, height, depth)	Adj. **-wãnvù** (long, tall)
bũggyâ (newness)	Adj. **-ˋggyâ** (new)
bũmpì (shortness)	Adj. **-ˊmpì** (short)
bùyõnjò (neatness, cleanliness)	Adj. **-yõnjò** (neat, clean)
bũggyà (feminine jealousy)	
bùlàmû (health, life)	
bùsûngú (anger)	
bùwãngwà (inherent nature)	

(2) Collective nouns, mainly the names of liquid, semi-liquid and other substances usually occurring in mass:

bùlô	(millet) (*Note* 1)
bùsâ	(cowdung)
bùtwâ	(poison)
bũttá	(banana meal)

bw.ōngô	(brain)
bw.ōyâ	(wool, fur, animal hair) (*Note* 1)
b.úùgí	(maize-meal porridge) (*Note* 1)
bùdôngó	(mortar, mud)
bùgāngá	(gunpowder)
bùsélá	(porridge of banana meal with juice)
bùwûngá	(flour, meal)
bùswīlílí	(whiskers of cat or dog)

Note: 1. Rarely used singulars of these forms do occur in Cl. 12: /**kàlô**/ (a grain of millet), /**k.òòyâ**/ (a single hair), /**k.úùjí**/ (a scrap of maize-meal porridge).

(3) Locative nouns, the names of countries, provinces, districts, counties, etc.:

bùLáàyá	(Europe)
bŭNgélézà	(England)
bùGāndà	(Buganda Province)
bùSógà	(Busoga District)
bùSíló	(Busiro County)

(4) Negative infinitives, incorporating the prefix /**ta- ~ t-**/. Positive infinitives are all included in Cl. 15.

bùtásâ	(not to grind)
bùtályà	(not to eat)
bùtábálâ	(not to count)
bùtálàbá	(not to see)
bùtágēndà	(not to go)
bùtáyīmbá	(not to sing)
bùtéélâ	(not to sweep)
bùtáágálà	(not to love)
bùtóógélà	(not to speak)
bùtājjâ	(not to come)
bùtâbbá	(not to steal)

(5) Miscellaneous:

bùgòlê	(wedding)	cf. **mùgòlê** (bride), Cl. 1
bùlágò	(throat, neck)	
bŭnnyâ	(pit, hole in the ground)	
bùtítí	(severe cold, freezing weather)	
bùyá	(game-pit)	
bw.ĕnyí	(forehead, face; front, outlook)	

2.16.4. The Cl. 14 prefix /**bu-**/, without IV, occurs in the plurals of a few nouns of Cl. 1a, see 2.4.3 (6). In these forms the Cl. 14 prefix /**bu-**/ is superimposed on that of Cl. 1a /**Ø-**/.

2.17.0. NOUN CLASS 13.

2.17.1. *Number:* Neutral.

2.17.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**o-**/.
BP: /**tu- ~ tw-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**tw-**/ occurs with vowel-commencing stems, of which only one example has been noted:

tw.ẽngé (a drop or small quantity of beer)
cf. **mw.ẽngé** (banana beer), Cl. 3

(2) The allomorph /**tu-**/ occurs with stems commencing in C and CC, as exemplified below.

2.17.3. *Significance:* This is a very small class of nouns, of which only one is primary. The remainder are secondary, being derived from nouns of other classes by substitution of prefix, and are diminutive in significance, designating small quantities of liquid, semi-liquid and granular substances.

tùlô (sleep)	
tùfútà (a drop or small quantity of oil)	cf. **màfútà** (oil), Cl. 6
tûnnyó (a pinch of salt)	**mûnnyó** (salt), Cl. 3
tùtá (a drop or small quantity of milk)	**màtá** (milk), Cl. 6
tùzígò (a scrap of butter)	**mùzígò** (butter), Cl. 3
tûzzí (a drop or small quantity of water)	**mâzzí** (water), Cl. 6

2.18.0. NOUN CLASS 15.

2.18.1. *Number:* Neutral, except for two Singular nouns with Plurals in Cl. 6.

2.18.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**o-**/.
BP: /**ku- ~ kuu- ~ kw-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**kw-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowels /**e, a, o**/. No examples have been noted of stems commencing in the vowels /**i, u**/.

kw.ẽlá	(to sweep)
kw.ãlá	(to make up a bed)
kw.õkyá	(to roast, incinerate, set alight)
kw.ẽsélá	(to water cattle)
kw.ãgálá	(to love, like, want)
kw.õgélá	(to speak, talk)
kw.êlá	(to be plentiful, bear fruit well)
kw.âsá	(to split, trs.)
kw.ôtá	(to warm oneself, bask)
kw.ẽngèlá	(to ripen, become ripe)
kw.ãtìká	(to crack, become cracked)
kw.õnòònná	(to spoil, damage, sin)

(2) The allomorph /**kuu-**/, represented orthographically by /**ku-**/, occurs before NC clusters in infinitive forms incorporating the 1st p. sg. Object Prefix /**N-**/ (see 6.3.3). It would be expected to occur also with stems commencing in NC, but no examples have been noted.

kűndábá	(to see me)
kűnkùbá	(to strike me)
kűndògá	(to bewitch me)
kűnsibá	(to bind me)
kűngòbá	(to chase me)
kűnvùmá	(to abuse me)
kűntùmá	(to send me)
kűmpìtá	(to call me)

(3) The allomorph /**ku-**/ occurs with all other forms, i.e. those commencing in C and CC.

kùtû	(ear)	pl. **màtû**
kùgúlú	(leg)	**màgúlú**
kùsá	(to grind)	
kùlyâ	(to eat)	
kùgúlá	(to buy)	
kùlábà	(to see)	
kùgēndá	(to go)	
kùyĩmbá	(to sing)	
kùsásúlá	(to pay)	
kùményèká	(to become broken)	
kūjjá	(to come)	
kûbbá	(to steal)	
kūggálá	(to close, shut)	
kūjjùlá	(to become full)	

2.18.3. *Significance:* Except for the two nouns /**kùtû**/ (ear) and /**kùgúlú**/ (leg), Cl. 15 contains only positive verb infinitives. Negative infinitives are included in Cl. 14 (see 2.16.3 (4)). Whereas infinitives are essentially nominal in structure and syntactic usage, they manifest certain verbal characteristics, e.g. their capacity for incorporating Object Prefixes and Verbal Extensions.

2.19.0. NOUN CLASS 16.

2.19.1. *Number:* Neutral.

2.19.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**a-**/.
BP: /**wa-** ~ **waa-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**waa-**/, represented orthographically by /**wa-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC.

wānsî	(on the ground, down, below)
wānsĩnsî	(a little lower, lower down)
wāmbélí	(in front—of a person or fireplace)
wândí	(elsewhere)
wāntú	(somewhere—indefinite locality)

Most of these "stems", and others similarly listed for Cl. 16, 17, 18, are, in origin, probably nouns of Cl. 5 and 9, while some may be qualificative—in which case they should not be included here. Nouns of Cl. 16, 17, 18 require a good deal of further study

(2) The allomorph /**wa-**/ occurs with stems commencing in C or CC. No examples have been noted of vowel-commencing stems.

wābbálì	(aside, to one side)
wāggúlú	(above, upwards, on top, in the sky)
wàkàtî	(between, in the middle, among)
wàlâ	(far, far away)

2.19.3. *Significance:* Locative. Cl. 16 contains a very limited number of locative nouns referring to place or locality. The prefix /**wa-**/ is non-productive and cannot be used in the derivation of locatives from nouns of other classes, as in the case of Cl. 17 and 18.

2.19.4. Only two Cl. 16 nouns, /**wāntú**/ and /**wândí**/, may occur with IV. Since /**wa-**/ is essentially a secondary prefix, usually superimposed on some other prefix, the occurrence with it of an IV is an unusual feature. In the case of /**wāntú**/, the prefix /**wa-**/ seems to be primary and affixed directly to the stem /**-ntu**/, which is probably the same as that occurring in /**mūntú**/ and /**kīntú**/. The occurrence of /**wa-**/ as a primary prefix would account for the use of an IV with it in this case (see 2.1.2).

2.20.0. NOUN CLASS 17.

2.20.1. *Number:* Neutral.

2.20.2. *Morphology of Prefix:*
BP: /**ku-** ~ **kuu-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**kuu-**/, represented orthographically by /**ku-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC.

kūmpì	(near, nearby)
kūmpímpí	(fairly near)
kūngúlú	(on top, on the upper surface)
kūnsí	(on earth, in the world)

(2) The allomorph /**ku-**/ occurs with stems commencing in C and CC.

kūbbálì	(aside, to one side)
kūggúlú	(in the heavens)
kùmābbàlí	(at the side)

2.20.3. *Significance:* Locative. Cl. 17 contains a small number of locative nouns, as illustrated in 2.20.2 above, with more or less restricted use and application. In addition, the Cl. 17 prefix /**ku-**/ may be fairly freely used in the derivation of locatives from inanimate nouns of other classes, and with the significance of "on, to, towards, at, from", but excluding the implication of "entry into" or "exit from", i.e. of "withinness", which is expressed by the Cl. 18 prefix /**mu-**/. The Cl. 17 prefix is essentially secondary in function, and in the derivation of locatives it is superimposed on the basic prefix (i.e. without IV) of the original noun.

kūmméézà (on, to, from the table)	cf. **ʻmméézà** (table), Cl. 9
kùkìtábó (on the book)	**kìtábó** (book), Cl. 7
kūntébè (on the chair)	**ʻntébè** (chair), Cl. 9
kùmūggá (to, from, at the river)	**mūggá** (river), Cl. 3
kùmàbéèlé (at the breasts)	**màbéèlé** (breasts), Cl. 6

2.21.0. NOUN CLASS 18.

2.21.1. *Number:* Neutral.

2.21.2. *Morphology of Prefix:*
BP: /**mu-** ~ **muu-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**muu-**/, represented orthographically by /**mu-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC.

mūndá	(inside, within)
mūnsí	(in the world, on earth)

(2) The allomorph /**mu-**/ occurs with stems commencing in C and CC. For examples see 2.21.3 below.

2.21.3. *Significance:* Locative. Cl. 18 contains a few locative nouns, as illustrated in 2.21.2 above, with more or less restricted use and application. In addition, the Cl. 18 prefix /**mu-**/ may be fairly freely used in the derivation of locatives from inanimate nouns of other classes, and with the significance of "in, into, out of, among, along, through, from, to, at", when there is the implication of "entry into" or "exit from or out of", i.e. of "withinness". The Cl. 18 prefix is essentially secondary in function, and in the derivation of locatives it is superimposed on the basic prefix (i.e. without IV) of the original noun.

mùkisēngé (in, into, out of the room)
cf. **kisēngé** (room), Cl. 7
mùkìbyá (in, into, out of the bowl)
cf. **kìbyá** (bowl), Cl. 7
mùkyāló (in, into, from the hamlet)
cf. **kyāló** (hamlet), Cl. 7
mūssāndúùkó (in, into, out of the box)
cf. **'ssāndúùkó** (box), Cl. 9
mūggwáníká (in, into, from the store-room)
cf. **'ggwáníká** (store-room), Cl. 5

2.22.0. NOUN CLASS 20.

2.22.1. *Number:* Singular, with correlative Plurals in Cl. 22.

2.22.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**o-**/.
BP: /**gu-** ~ **gw-** ~ **g-** ∞ **guu-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**guu-**/, represented orthographically by /**gu-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC. /**guu-**/ also occurs with the stem /**-so**/.

gūntú (huge big thing)[13] pl. **gāntú**
cf. **kìntú** (thing), Cl. 7
gúù.só (enormous eye) **gáà.só**
cf. **lìì.só** (eye), Cl. 5

(2) The allomorph /**g-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowel /**u**/.

g.úùmá (huge machine or metal object) pl. **g.úùmá**
cf. **ky.ûmá** (metal object), Cl. 7

(3) The allomorph /**gw-**/ occurs with stems commencing in the vowels /**i, e, a, o**/.

gw.ĕnvû (huge banana) pl. **g.ĕnvû**
cf. **ly.ĕnvû** (ripe banana), Cl. 5
gw.ânâ (big, fat child) **g.ààná**
cf. **mw.ânâ** (child), Cl. 1
gw.âtó (huge canoe) **g.ààtó**
cf. **ly.âtó** (canoe), Cl. 5
gw.ðyû (enormous feather) **g.òòyâ**
cf. **ky.ðyû** (feather), Cl. 7

[13] Usually not clearly perceived, as at night, and therefore sinister.

(4) The allomorph /**gu-**/ occurs with all other stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC.

gùsâjjá (clumsy giant)	pl.	**gàsâjjá**
cf. **mùsâjjá** (man), Cl. 1		
gùsòtâ (enormous snake)		**gàsòtâ**
cf. **mùsòtâ** (snake), Cl. 3		
gùtî (enormous tree)		**gàtî**
cf. **mùtî** (tree), Cl. 3		
gùtábó (huge book, tome)		**gàtábó**
cf. **kìtábó** (book), Cl. 7		
gùyĩnjá (enormous rock)		**gàyĩnjá**
cf. **ʽjjĩnjá** (stone), Cl. 5		
gùyũmbà (great big house)[13]		**gàyũmbà**
cf. **ʽnnyũmbà** (house), Cl. 9		

2.22.3. *Significance:* This is a relatively small class of nouns, all of which are secondary, being derived from nouns of other classes by substitution of prefix, and all of which are augmentative in significance, often with a pejorative implication of sinisterness.

2.23.0. NOUN CLASS 22.

2.23.1. *Number:* Plural, with correlative Singulars in Cl. 20 and 5.

2.23.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**a-**/.
BP: /**ga-** ~ **g-** ∞ **gaa-**/.

(1) The allomorph /**gaa-**/, represented orthographically by /**ga-**/, occurs with stems commencing in NC. /**gaa-**/ also occurs with the stem /**-so**/.

gãntú	(huge big things)	cf. Cl. 20	**gũntú**
gáà.só	(enormous eyes)		**gúù.só**

(2) The allomorph /**g-**/ occurs with vowel-commencing stems.

g.ẽnvû	(huge bananas)	cf. Cl. 20	**gw.ẽnvû**
g.áàtó	(huge canoes)		**gw.âtó**
g.òòyâ	(huge feathers)		**gw.òòyâ**
g.úùmâ	(huge machines)		**g.úùmâ**

(3) The allomorph /**ga-**/ occurs with all other stems, i.e. those commencing in C and CC. For examples see 2.8.4 and 2.22.2 (4).

2.23.3. *Significance:* Augmentative, as for correlative singulars in Cl. 20 and 5.

2.24.0. NOUN CLASS 23.

2.24.1. *Number:* Neutral.

2.24.2. *Morphology of Prefixes:*
IV: /**e-**/.
BP: /**Ø-**/.

[13] Usually derelict and uninhabited, therefore sinister.

The Cl. 23 prefix requires a good deal of further study, as it manifests some unusual features. It is essentially a secondary prefix, being superimposed on other noun class prefixes, but unlike other secondary prefixes, it has an IV, which seems to behave in the same way as that of other noun classes. Its concordial agreements appear to be identical with those of Cl. 9.

2.24.3. *Significance:* Locative. The Cl. 23 prefix occurs mainly with place names, expressing "to, from, at, in". The following examples illustrate forms both with and without IV.

ẽJjĩnjá	**'Jjĩnjá**	(at, to, from Jjinja)
ẽKãmpálâ	**Kãmpálâ**	(at, to, from Kampala)
ẽMàkéélélê	**Màkéélélê**	(at, to, from Makerere)
ẽMmẽngó	**'Mmẽngó**	(at, to, from Mmengo)
ẽNnáyílõbbì	**'Nnáyílõbbì**	(at, to, from Nairobi)
ẽNtébè	**'Ntébè**	(at, to, from Entebbe)

The Cl. 23 prefix occurs also in a small number of other forms, with more or less restricted use and application, and here exemplified with IV.

ẽbbáli (on, to, at the side)
cf. **'bbáli** (side of a thing), Cl. 5
ẽgĩndí (at, to, from such and such a place)
ẽmábégá (behind, at the back)
cf. **màbégá** (back), Cl. 6
ẽmũggá (at, to, from the well or spring)
cf. **mũggá** (river, swamp), Cl. 3
ẽmílãnnámíló (at the foot of a bed or grave)
ẽnnyúmá (behind, after)